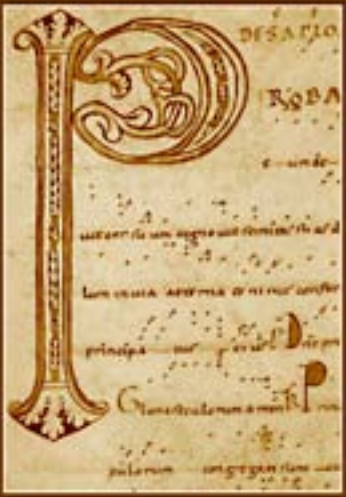
The Musical World *of a* Medieval Monk

Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-century Aquitaine

JAMES GRIER



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THE MUSICAL WORLD OF A MEDIEVAL MONK

James Grier documents the musical activities of Adémar de Chabannes, eleventh-century monk, historian, homilist and tireless polemicist for the apostolic status of Saint Martial, patron saint of the abbey that bore his name in Limoges. Adémar left behind some 451 folios of music with notation in his autograph hand, a musical resource without equal before the seventeenth century. He introduced, at strategic moments, pieces familiar from the standard liturgy for an apostle and items of his own composition. These reveal Adémar to be a supremely able designer of liturgies and a highly original composer. This study analyses his accomplishments as a musical scribe, compiler of liturgies, editor of existing musical works and composer; it also offers a speculative consideration of his abilities as a singer; and, finally, it places Adémar's musical activities in the context of liturgical, musical and political developments at the abbey of Saint Martial in Limoges.

JAMES GRIER is Professor of Music History at the University of Western Ontario. He is the author of *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge, 1996), and his work has appeared in many journals including *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *Early Music History*, *Acta Musicologica*, *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, *Speculum* and *Scriptorium*.

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For Sally

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Preface

"Working on Ademar has been like discovering a lost continent." So Richard Landes begins the Acknowledgments of his book *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*. From Richard's research and that of other scholars, we knew that Adémar had made distinguished contributions to the fields of history, literature (homilies in particular) and computus. His musical activities had received attention from Léopold Delisle, Paul Hooreman, John A. Emerson and Michel Huglo, but these accomplishments were largely perceived as a footnote to his better-known literary achievements. So, the topography of Richard's lost continent was principally literary and historical.

If Richard's research discovered a lost continent, then that which led to this book on Adémar's musical accomplishments and the companion edition of his music has resulted in the discovery of a veritable subcontinent that significantly enlarges it. When Richard published his book in 1995, scholars had identified approximately 1,000 folios of autograph manuscript in Adémar's hand, already a staggering amount of material, of which some seventy-five contained music, or less than 10 per cent, perhaps in some part justifying the footnote status of his musical activities. My discoveries of Adémar's music hand in the first layers of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS latin 909 (in 1992, in which Richard collaborated, as well as Gunilla Iversen of the Corpus Troporum in Stockholm, published in *Scriptorium* 1997) and 1121 (in 1999, published in *Early Music History* 2005) raised the total of Adémar's autograph corpus to roughly 1,400 folios (an expansion of 40 per cent) of which 451 contain music, or about one-third of the whole.

Thus, the continent that Richard discovered is not only far larger now, but very different in nature too, with music playing a much larger role than previously thought, particularly during the crucial period 1027–29. For at this time, Adémar turned his attention to the production of music manuscripts in the scriptorium of Saint Martial in Limoges, initially in

the second half of 1027, in the aftermath of his disappointment at not securing the office of abbot at his home abbey of Saint Cybard in Angoulême, and then again a year later, after the death of Count William of Angoulême under mysterious circumstances in April 1028 and the subsequent deterioration of the political situation there. During this second working visit to Limoges, Adémar decided to throw caution to the winds and embrace the flagrantly fraudulent tales of the apostolic status of Martial, patron saint of the abbey that bore his name in Limoges. His principal vehicle for the promulgation of the campaign to secure official acceptance of Martial's apostolicity was a newly composed liturgy, with its constituent music, for the saint that acknowledged his apostolic status.

And so, for his most overt attempt to shape public opinion regarding Martial's apostolicity, Adémar chose music and the liturgy as his means. In so doing, he created documents that afford us an unprecedented glimpse into the working world of a highly professional monastic musician of the central Middle Ages for whom musical literacy formed an integral part of music-making. What follows is an account of that musical world and the extraordinary accomplishments that constitute it. Here, I name just two of them: his introduction of accurate heighting to the Aquitanian notational dialect for the purpose of inscribing precise intervallic information; and his significant creative output in some 100 preserved original compositions. Either achievement would be adequate to justify detailed study of his musical activities, but, taken in the context of his other accomplishments in the field of music, they show Adémar to be a musician of singular ability, deserving of a full assessment of his musical achievements.

It is impossible to undertake research of this scope without incurring many debts. First and foremost, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the inspiration of my dear friend Richard Landes, who introduced me to Adémar and the complexities of his biography, invited me to collaborate on the Collected Edition of Adémar's works, shared with me much valuable material, and has functioned as an ongoing sounding board for my theories and ideas. Thank you, Richard; this book would simply not exist were it not for you.

Many other scholars have generously offered support and shared materials over the years, including Charles M. Atkinson, Gunilla Björkvall, Pascale Bourgain, Daniel F. Callahan, the late John A. Emerson, Bryan Gillingham, Michel Huglo, Gunilla Iversen, Ritva Jacobsson, Thomas Forrest Kelly, Kenneth Levy, Alejandro Enrique Planchart, Anne Walters Robertson, Leo Treitler and Craig Wright. My colleagues and friends

John Check, Susan Rankin, Paul Saenger and David Schulenberg all read portions of the book that considered matters close to their research interests, and I thank them for their thoughtful responses.

My colleagues at Queen's University, Yale and the University of Western Ontario listened patiently over the many years of gestation this project has required and I thank them for their interest. Among the graduate students in musicology at Yale and Western, I found a sophisticated audience for this material both inside the classroom and out. I am grateful for their penetrating questions and insightful reactions. I am particularly appreciative of the efforts of Shannon Benson, now completing a dissertation in musicology at Western, who has worked untiringly on the Adémar material for over half a decade now, and whose meticulous labours have improved the final product in many ways. Any errors that remain can be laid squarely at my door.

I owe a special debt to Keith Hamel, School of Music, University of British Columbia, who has very generously provided me with updated copies of Notewriter, the musicprocessor he authored, over the years since we were colleagues at Queen's. All the musical examples in this book were created with it, as was all the music in the edition of Adémar's music.

An equally special debt is owed Frederick Renz and New York's Ensemble for Early Music. An invitation from Richard Landes to participate in a conference on the millennium at Boston University in October 1996 generated an extraordinary opportunity to hear Adémar's music. Richard thought it would be a good idea to open the conference with a performance of the troped Mass that Adémar had prepared to promote the apostolic status of Martial. My readers can imagine the alacrity and enthusiasm with which I concurred. Fred and the Ensemble, with whom I had collaborated the previous spring on a concert of Aquitanian music at the Cloisters and the Metropolitan Museum in New York in conjunction with the exhibit of enamels from Limoges at the Met, shared my enthusiasm. And so they prepared the concert from my edition, and gave life to this music, most of which had not been heard since 1029, breaking almost a millennium of silence. I was especially moved by Paul Shipper's expressive performance of sections of the Mass I now believe, not least because of Paul's wonderful singing, were written by Adémar to be sung by himself. The Ensemble continued to programme the Mass, and I was privileged to give pre-concert lectures at Saint John the Divine in New York when they performed it on their subscription series in November 1998. They subsequently released a splendid recording of it for which I provided the liner notes.

No medievalist has to be told that research of this type could not be completed without the support and close collaboration of many libraries and librarians, but it is a pleasure and a privilege to acknowledge the debts I have accrued. My principal debt, naturally, goes to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, repository of the bulk of Adémar's autograph manuscripts and all of the musical ones known to me. I am especially grateful to M. François Avril and Mme Marie-Pierre Laffitte of the Département des Manuscrits for allowing me generous access to the Aquitanian manuscripts in the fonds latin; and to M. Avril and Mme Monique Cohen, Conservateur général, for graciously permitting me to reproduce photographs of manuscripts in their care. I am equally grateful to the Archives Départementales de la Haute-Vienne and the Musée Municipale de l'Évêché, both in Limoges, and particularly to their respective directors, M. Robert Chanaud and Mme Véronique Notin, for access to their collections and permission to reproduce photographs. I also thank Mme Geneviève Contamine of the Section Latine, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, for many kindnesses.

In North America, I was very fortunate to have access to several wonderful research libraries. Naturally my greatest debt is to the libraries at the institutions where I worked or enjoyed prolonged visits, to their staffs and especially their inter-library loan departments: Queen's, Yale, Western, the Institute for Advanced Study and the University of Windsor. Ken Crilly of Yale's music library deserves special thanks for procuring many items including microfilms of several Aquitanian manuscripts that greatly facilitated early phases of the study. I spent a very productive semester at the University of California, Berkeley, where members of the music department warmly welcomed me and John Roberts opened the riches of the music library. Thanks, also, to the libraries of the University of Michigan, the University of Toronto and especially the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto for generous access to their collections.

Visits to Paris and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France started in earnest in the summer of 1989, initially with the support of grants from the Principal's Development Fund and the Advisory Research Committee of Queen's University. Since then, I have been awarded three major research grants by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the periods 1989–90, 1998–2001 and 2002–5. The first and the last of these included Research Time Stipends that provided time free from teaching, and each gave the research significant impetus.

During my tenure at Yale, I was fortunate to receive several A. Whitney Griswold Faculty Research Grants, the John F. Enders Research Assistance

Grant on one occasion and the Morse Fellowship in 1994–95; these permitted me to continue summer research trips to Paris and free time for writing and research. Finally, the Office of Research Services at the University of Western Ontario has also been generous in this regard, awarding me two grants for summer travel. To all these agencies, I am extremely grateful. They enabled the prolonged and repeated visits to Paris that have resulted in the detailed observations and analysis offered below. During the period 2003–5, I was a Visiting Humanities Fellow in the Humanities Research Group, University of Windsor, in whose hospitable setting I was able to continue my work on Adémar.

I gratefully acknowledge the generous support of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, its School of Historical Studies and especially the late Professor Edward T. Cone of Princeton University whose gift enabled me to hold the membership in music studies at the School of Historical Studies named in his honour during the academic year 2002–3. The time I spent at the Institute was extraordinarily productive and a testament to the intellectual environment there. It was a great pleasure to meet Professor Cone, whose work I had long admired, and his partner George Proctor, who welcomed my wife and me into their home, and shared much stimulating conversation with us. I am particularly grateful for having had the opportunity to exchange views with the permanent faculty, including Glen Bowersock, Caroline Walker Bynum, Giles Constable, the late Kirk Varnedoe, Heinrich von Staden and Morton White.

I was also very glad to be able to renew acquaintance with two very distinguished scholars whose paths I had crossed before and whose scholarship has been a constant inspiration to me since my earliest undergraduate days, Elizabeth A. R. Brown and C. P. Jones. Peggy Brown, in nearby New York, taught medieval history as a visiting professor at Yale when I was a member of the Department of Music there, and Christopher Jones, a frequent visitor to the Institute, was one of my first instructors in Latin literature at the University of Toronto. The time I spent with them during my year at the Institute profoundly enriched my experience there and added to what was already a significant long-term debt.

The editorial staff at Cambridge University Press has made many important contributions to the successful completion of this book, especially Dr Victoria L. Cooper, music editor. Vicki continued to believe in the book through its many metamorphoses, as she did with *The Critical Editing of Music* before it, and any success these titles might have can be attributed in no small way to her vision and perseverance. It is a pleasure

not frequently met to deal with someone so dedicated to scholarship and its promulgation.

On a personal note, I would make the observation that this book is infused with the spirit of the late Rev. Leonard E. Boyle, OP, sometime professor of palaeography and codicology at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, where I had the very fortunate opportunity to study palaeography with him, and later Prefect of the Vatican Library. Father Boyle's painstaking approach to all aspects of manuscripts studies and his insistence that manuscripts are not mere repositories of texts but artifacts that have important histories of their own (what he called the "archaeology of the book") have guided my steps in uncovering Adémar's musical career from the documents he left behind. Although we exchanged a good deal of correspondence on Adémar, I regret that he did not live to see the completion of this book.

To my dear friends Claire Harrison and Peter Jarrett I extend a warm thanks for their wonderful hospitality in Paris, where their home served as a base for many research trips to the BNF and a refuge for writing. And finally, I acknowledge the support of my wife and daughter. Adémar was already well established as a family member when our daughter Bianca entered the world. He has not been much of a surrogate father for her but he has been an entertaining, if somewhat obstreperous, companion. My wife Sally Bick, as ever my closest collaborator and most outspoken critic, has continuously offered extraordinary support for the time and attention I have lavished on him. She has attended every step of the journey with good humour, boundless affection and love. The dedication is small repayment indeed.

WINDSOR, ONTARIO
January 2006

A note on the musical examples and the edition

The musical examples in this book use transcriptional and editorial principles developed in my edition of Adémar's music forthcoming in the series Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, where it will form part of the Collected Works of Adémar. A full explanation of those principles will appear there, and they are adumbrated in the first Epilogue of *The Critical Editing of Music*. Here I give a brief summary.

As I discuss below in Chapter 2, Aquitanian notation primarily employs individual symbols for individual notes, most often *puncta* and *uirgae*. Scribes group these symbols to indicate which notes are to be sung to which syllables of the literary text. The groupings are sometimes supplemented by ligation, principally in two neumes, the *cliuis*, a binary neume in which the first note is higher than the second, and the *porrectus*, a ternary neume in which the middle note is lower than the first and last. Groups are defined differently for ascending and descending melodic motion in the original notation. Ascending groups always end in a *uirga*, while descending ones are aligned vertically. The individual notes are represented in my transcriptions and editions by stemless noteheads, grouping and ligation by slurs.

Two special neumes receive special slurring. The *quilisma* is denoted by a slur over two notes below a longer slur; the *pes stratus*, which indicates two repeated notes at the same pitch, uses a slur that begins with the *punctum* or *puncta* that invariably precede the *pes stratus* and continues over the repeated notes. Liquescence is expressed by the *cephalicus* (downwards motion) and the *epiphonus* (upwards motion). The liquescent note in my transcriptions is represented by a smaller notehead. I do not slur the *oriscus*, which denotes a repeated note on the same pitch without a change of syllable, to its preceding *punctum* because I do not suspect that it represents a performance nuance, but may instead be a visual indication that two immediately adjacent notes on the same pitch are to be sung consecutively.

Because I refer the reader many times to the edition of Adémar's music that I am preparing, I give a brief overview of its contents here. Each piece is identified by the section (roman numeral), subsection (arabic numeral) and item within the subsection (capital letter). So, the Gradual *Principes populorum* is designated II.9.B: it falls in section II, Office for the Feast of Saint Martial, subsection 9, Untroped Mass, item B. Information about each item occurs in several parts of the edition: edition of the music with literary text, separate edition of the literary text with critical apparatus, critical apparatus of the music, and commentary. Each time, the piece retains the same alphanumeric designation (e.g., II.9.B for *Principes populorum*), and so a reference to a particular piece should take the reader to all parts of the edition where information is to be found on it with equal facility. Here are the sections of the edition.

I. Tropes of the Proper of the Mass
II. Office for the Feast of Saint Martial
III. Prosae
IV. Seventy-Two Verses about Saint Martial
V. Alleluias
VI. Office for the Feast of Saint Valérie
VII. Office for the Feast of Saint Austriclinian
VIII. Office for the Feast of Saint Cybard
IXA. Sequentiary
IXB. Appendix to the Sequentiary
Appendix A. Pieces Unique to Pa 1978
Appendix B. Erased Responsorial Chants in the Untroped Mass for Saint Martial
Appendix C. Alleluia Incipits
Appendix D. *Simile est*
Appendix E. Tonary
Appendix F. Twelfth Lesson for the Feast of Saint Cybard, Verses and Hymns
Appendix G. Liturgical Texts for the Feasts of Saint Martial
Appendix H. Offices for the Feasts of Saints Martial and Valérie in Pa 1085

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Adémar de Chabannes and Saint Martial de Limoges

We know more about the musical activities of Adémar de Chabannes than of any other medieval musician, with the possible exception of Guillaume de Machaut. This knowledge derives from a bizarre series of historical accidents that caused the abbey of Saint Martial de Limoges to become the setting for the strange drama that became the latter phase of Adémar's life. First, Adémar turned to Saint Martial, initially as the place of his advanced education but later and more than once as a refuge from a difficult situation at his home abbey of Saint Cybard in Angoulême, about a hundred kilometres distant from Limoges. Second, his choice of Saint Martial for these purposes was hardly providential: an ancestor on his father's side of the family, Aimo, had been abbot there in the first half of the tenth century (while his brother Turpio simultaneously held the office of bishop of Limoges), and his father's two older brothers, Adalbertus and Roger, were monks at the abbey. Adalbertus, the oldest, became deacon, while Roger, the middle brother, filled the post of cantor and tutored his nephew Adémar during his advanced studies.

Third, Adémar was also drawn to Saint Martial because the abbey enjoyed considerable prestige, and, perhaps most important for a scholar of wide-ranging interests like Adémar, it possessed an outstanding library. Fourth, it was home to the cult of its patron saint, Martial, a cult centred on his relics and the tomb on whose site the abbey was founded and to which hordes of pilgrims continually thronged. In the aftermath of the spectacular dedication of a new abbatial basilica on 18 November 1028, Martial's cult served as the pretext for Adémar's promulgation of his apostolic status, supported by the elaborate liturgy he devised, which became the centrepiece of his musical accomplishment.

Fifth, after Adémar, disgraced by the fiasco of his attempted inauguration of the apostolic liturgy on 3 August 1029, returned in bitter defeat to Angoulême, he continued producing forgeries in support of Martial's apostolicity. On his departure for pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1033 or

early 1034, he deposited this material in the abbey library at Saint Martial. There, it was safeguarded by those monks sympathetic to the apostolic programme, who would eventually use Adémar's documents to justify a return to the apostolic cult. And sixth, perhaps strangest of all, the monks at Saint Martial preserved virtually all the musical documents produced or acquired by the abbey from the tenth century through at least the end of the eleventh, including, therefore, those to which Adémar contributed. These manuscripts formed part of the abbey library, which, after prolonged negotiations, was purchased by King Louis XV in 1730 for his royal library. Thus, Adémar's manuscripts avoided destruction during the revolution when, in 1791, the abbey was dissolved.

So, by this fortuitous combination of historical flukes, we possess some 451 manuscript folios with music written in Adémar's autograph hand, an "embarrassment of riches," as Richard Landes termed Adémar's autograph corpus as a whole.[1] The bulk of these constitute the earliest layers of the troper-prosers Pa 1121 and 909, in which Adémar functioned as the music scribe in subordination to the principal scribe of the manuscript, who would have selected the pieces and determined their order. But, for some seventy-seven folios in these two codices, Adémar served as both principal and music scribe, and these document his considerable musical achievements as compiler, editor and, above all, composer. The majority of these folios preserve the core materials of the apostolic cult: principally the apostolic liturgy for Martial, consisting of a troped Mass and a complete cycle of Offices for the full liturgical day; but also Offices for his companions Valérie and Austriclinian, and tropes for Austriclinian and Justinian, another companion.

This prodigious production took place within the walls of the abbey of Saint Martial. By Adémar's time, the abbey had become one of the two most important ecclesiastical institutions in Limoges, equal in stature to the urban cathedral of Saint Stephen. The tomb of Martial, the site of the abbey itself, attracted large numbers of pilgrims and the abbey played a prominent role in urban ceremonies like the election of the city's bishop. It also assumed a position of importance in ecclesiastical affairs within the larger context of Aquitaine, sending representatives to the most significant gatherings of clerics, such as the ceremony that acknowledged the skull found at Angély in 1016 as an authentic relic of John the Baptist.[2]

[1] The title of Chapter 1 in Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 3.
[2] See Chapter 6 below.

Adémar's ancestors, as prominent members of the monastic community, contributed significantly in building the abbey's reputation.

Moreover, through the tenth and early eleventh centuries, a vigorous musical establishment developed and flourished at the abbey. At least two music manuscripts produced in the tenth century were present at the abbey, Pa 1240 and 1154. Adémar's family played a leading role in musical life at the abbey in the following century. His uncle Roger participated in a complete codification of the most important liturgical music in use at the abbey, if he did not in fact direct it in his capacity as cantor. The results are preserved in Pa 1085, which contains the music for the Divine Office, and Pa 1120, which records the music for the Mass.[3] Throughout this period, the musical community at Saint Martial collected repertory, produced manuscripts, composed new liturgies for the saints most important to the abbey (Martial above all, but also Valérie and others) and became a centre for the production, preservation and transmission of the relatively new liturgical repertories of tropes and sequences. The monks of its scriptorium also significantly refined the Aquitanian dialect of musical notation and advanced the role of musical literacy in the pedagogy and transmission of chant. Adémar steeped himself in these traditions during his advanced studies under the tutelage of his uncle, and later materially contributed to all of them.

To this environment and these self-appointed tasks Adémar brought a formidable repertory of talents. The foremost historian of his day in Aquitaine, Adémar was also an accomplished, if somewhat polemical, writer of homilies. Beyond these literary activities, he was proficient in computus, a skilled scribe, both in Latin and Tironian notes, and grammarian. To this substantial portfolio of credentials we can now add competence as a music scribe, compiler of liturgies, editor of musical texts, composer and, in all likelihood, singer. When he made that fateful decision to seek recognition of Martial's apostolicity, he commanded the skills to prepare an overwhelmingly persuasive dossier for the project. And as his principal tool, he chose the liturgy. In its stunning combination of sights, sounds and even aromas, the liturgy presented a magnificent spectacle, impressive for lay and clergy alike. Adémar seized its power to sway the populace of Limoges, to convince them to believe what everyone, Adémar most of all, knew to be untrue: that Martial, first bishop of Limoges and patron saint of the abbey that bears his name, was an apostle.

[3] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes."

SAINT MARTIAL DE LIMOGES

Our best informant about the historical Martial and the early history of the abbey founded in Limoges on the site of his tomb remains Gregory of Tours. Gregory places Martial in the third century among a group of clerics sent to Gaul to evangelize its provinces.[4] The group, including Saint Denis, set out from Rome in AD 250, a date fixed by Gregory through identification of its consular year. Martial became bishop of Limoges and lived there "in summa sanctitate" ("in the highest sanctity"). Gregory recounts his burial and the miracles that occurred at his tomb.[5] In this latter connection, Gregory mentions the presence of priests at the tomb who observe the miracles. It is possible, as some modern scholars have deduced, that these priests might have attended the tomb as their principal function.[6]

In 848, the clergy of the tomb reformed themselves under the Benedictine rule.[7] This event marked a major change in the status of the institution, as it aligned itself with the powerful nexus of Benedictine institutions nurtured by the Carolingians.[8] One measure of this strategy's success lies in the tremendous wealth of the abbey. In 1010, bishop Alduin of Limoges took some of its treasures apparently to finance an expedition to Rome alongside Duke William of Aquitaine. On their return, they hosted "the noblest of the princes of the Aquitaines and the Franks, as well as of the Italians" ("nobilissimi Aquitanorum et Francorum principum atque Italorum") at Saint Martial over Easter.[9] The abbey must have boasted splendid architecture and a striking liturgy to motivate its selection by Duke William as a place to entertain such important guests.

William also chose the abbey to play a central role in two episcopal elections at Limoges in the early eleventh century. At the elections of

[4] Gregory, *Historia Francorum* 1.30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 23.

[5] Gregory, *Libri octo miraculorum* 8, *Liber in gloria confessorum* 27–28, ed. Krusch, pp. 764–65.

[6] E.g., C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 31–33.

[7] *Annales lemovicenses* ad annum 848, ed. Pertz, p. 251; Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.18, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 135–36; [Adémar], *Commemoratio abbatum*, ed. Duplès-Agier, p. 1; Itier, *Chronique* 22, ed. Lemaître, p. 5; and Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica* 59, ed. Labbe, p. 312. For commentary, see C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 51–53; Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 159–60; and Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, pp. 13–15.

[8] On Carolingian attitudes towards monasticism, see Voigt, *Die karolingische Klosterpolitik*; Semmler, "Karl der Grosse"; *idem*, "Episcopi potestas"; *idem*, "Pippin III"; *idem*, "Mönche und Kanoniker"; *idem*, "Benediktinische Reform"; Zielinski, "Die Kloster- und Kirchengründungen"; and the essays collected in Kottje and Maurer, eds., *Monastische Reformen*.

[9] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.49, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 168. See Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 65.

both Gerald (in 1014 or 1015) and Jordan (in 1023), the respective bishops-elect made their first prominent public appearance at the monastery.[10] On both occasions, William saw to it that the successful candidates received consecration from the archbishop of Bordeaux, whose election William effectively controlled, instead of the archbishop of Bourges, in whose province Limoges fell and whose appointment was usually royal. In view of these irregular procedures, William attempted to secure legitimation for his bishops, at least in the urban setting of Limoges, by presenting them at the abbey. In addition to housing the burial place of Martial, first bishop of Limoges, it was clearly, in the mind of William, one of the preeminent ecclesiastical institutions in the city.

Martial's relics also attracted significant attention. They demonstrated tremendous power by curing the affliction of *sacer ignis* (probably ergot) that plagued the region around Limoges in late 994 at the time of a peace council convoked by the duke in Limoges.[11] The monks removed his corpse from the tomb for transport to Montjovis, just outside the city. Immediately, those suffering from the disease began to be healed, and more of the afflicted continued to recover throughout the night as the relics of Martial stood vigil on Montjovis. This event, which took place at a time when many of the most important clerics and nobles of Aquitaine were present in Limoges for the peace council, assured the importance of Martial's relics and their burial place.

Two further incidents in 1016 and 1018 attested their power. First, the relics witnessed the ceremonies that took place at Angély to confirm the authenticity of the skull found there and identified as that of John the Baptist. Below, I discuss the impact this event had on Adémar, and in Chapter 6, his descriptions of the liturgical observances in which the monks of Saint Martial and the canons of Saint Stephen participated. Duke William organized a gathering of relics from all over Aquitaine, including those of Saint Stephen in Limoges and Saint Cybard of Angoulême, to authenticate the newly discovered relic of John the Baptist. Their very presence lent authority to the skull. Martial's corpse, brought from Limoges "in a conveyance made of gold and gems" ("in vectorio ex auro et gemmis"), generated a number of miracles en route that the clergy of

[10] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.49 and 57, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 168–69 and 178, respectively; see also commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 301–3 and 311–12. For further commentary, see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 136–38; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 66 and 119–20. On the date of Gerald's election, see Landes, "Autour d'Adémar," pp. 32–34.

[11] See Chapter 5 below.

Limoges "prais[ed] vigorously" ("valde laetantes") while they returned home, and thus added its considerable weight to the festivities.[12]

Second, in 1018, what must have been an extremely large crowd of pilgrims assembled at the doors of the abbatial basilica early one Sunday morning in the middle of Lent.[13] In the crush to enter the church, some fifty-two of the pilgrims perished. One can only speculate as to the size of the crowd, but to cause such casualties, it must have been considerable. The magnitude of this tragedy gives some indication of the popularity of Saint Martial as a pilgrimage destination, and in turn an idea of its stature as an ecclesiastical institution. It was to this hub of power and prestige that Adémar turned for refuge from his home abbey in Angoulême, and where the bulk of his musical activity took place.

THE MUSICAL COMMUNITY AT SAINT MARTIAL

Long before Adémar's lifetime, the abbey of Saint Martial hosted a vigorous musical community. The written record of its activities stretches back to the first half of the tenth century and attests a great deal of activity in the collection, composition and written compilation of musical items, all of which presuppose the presence of a rich performing practice.[14] Aside from the conventional repertories of liturgical chant for the Mass and Office that would have been performed at every ecclesiastical institution, the monks at Saint Martial also collected, composed and sang the newer repertories that attained currency during the tenth century. These included tropes, initially for the Proper of the Mass but eventually for the Ordinary, too, and sequences, again first in texted form but, starting

[12] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 175–77 (quotations p. 176); he gives another account at *Chronicon* α.C, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 13–14. See also Landes, "Autour d'Adémar," pp. 35–36; and *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 47–49.

[13] *Annales lemovicenses* ad annum 1018, ed. Pertz, p. 252 (Pa 5239 fol. 19r, marginal note in Adémar's hand; see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 68 n. 77; reproduced, *ibid.*, Figure 1 p. 347); Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.49, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 169; [Adémar], *Commemoratio abbatum*, ed. Duplès-Agier, p. 7; and Itier, *Chronique* 46, ed. Lemaître, pp. 12–13. Itier provides another note in the bottom margin of Pa 4281 fol. 137v (Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 68 n. 77; unremarked by Lemaître in his edition): "M.XVIII. LII. peregrini a turba conculcati dum aperirentur ualue Sancti Saluatoris ad matutinos medie XL. VII. decimo kalendis aprilis" ("1018, fifty-two pilgrims were trampled by the crowd while the gates of the Holy Saviour were opened at Matins in the middle of Lent 16 March"). Easter fell on 6 April in 1018, and 16 March was the fourth Sunday of Lent; see Cappelli, *Cronologia*, pp. 66–67. On the event in general, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 67–68.

[14] The best overviews of the musical community at Saint Martial during the tenth and eleventh centuries remain Chailley, *L'école*, and Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*.

from Adémar's lifetime, in their untexted and partially texted states as well. They also collected, and presumably performed, non-liturgical lyric pieces, ranging from examples of the *planctus* to settings of some of the verse from Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*. Musical practice at Saint Martial during the tenth and eleventh centuries, therefore, was rich and varied.

Two musical manuscripts produced in the tenth century, one of which was copied in the abbey's scriptorium, were present at the library in Adémar's lifetime, Pa 1240 and 1154. These compilations represent, respectively, the liturgical and non-liturgical repertories practised at the abbey, and illustrate the wide range of music that was known and sung there. The earliest layers of Pa 1240, the oldest surviving music manuscript produced at the abbey, contain prosae, tropes for the Proper of the Mass and a few Ordinary tropes. Although opinions are divided on the date of the manuscript, I believe that it is now possible to show that its earliest portions were produced in the first half of the tenth century.[15] This date would place it among the earliest extant tropers and prosers in the medieval west. It is slightly younger than the sequence collections Pa 10587 and SGv 317, and the troper Wi 1609, and roughly coeval with the tropers SG 484 and 381, all of which were produced at the abbey of Saint Gall (see Chapter 2 below).

Therefore, the community at Saint Martial was among the first to embrace these new genres of trope and prosa. Their cultivation suggests, on the part of the abbey's musicians, a certain enthusiasm for innovation. The introduction of new practices to liturgical chant provoked a certain amount of censure in the late and post-Carolingian period, as I discuss in Chapter 5 below, and some ecclesiastical authorities numbered tropes and prosae among the novelties to be discouraged. It is difficult to assess, on the one hand, how widespread that resistance to change might have been, when, on the other hand, all churches modified their liturgy somewhat. Most ecclesiastical institutions, therefore, would have experienced some degree of tension between those who wished to preserve traditions and those who aspired to innovate. Under these circumstances, the musical community at Saint Martial in the tenth century adopted a firmly progressive posture.

[15] See Chapter 2 below. On Pa 1240 in general, see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:46–55, 2:91–97; *idem*, "The Repertory of Proses," pp. 154a–57b; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 165–66; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 78–80; Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 137–39; Evans, "Northern French Elements"; and Emerson, "Neglected Aspects."

The presence of these new genres also indicates that the monks of Saint Martial desired to create a unique liturgy for their abbey by reaching beyond the conventional liturgical repertories. The incorporation of tropes and prosae into the liturgies of the most important feasts permitted some flexibility in the selection of musical items for those occasions. Musicians could choose items they felt were particularly appropriate for the celebration of these feasts at their institution, pieces they especially liked themselves, or they could compose altogether new material in these genres for the elaboration of the ceremony. Codex Pa 1240 preserves a range of material that singers at Saint Martial could include in the liturgy as they saw fit.

For example, it transmits four trope complexes (that is, four complete sets of tropes, each set or complex accommodating a full statement of the Introit antiphon) for the Christmas Introit *Puer natus*.[16] These could serve for the usual three statements of the antiphon (introduction and refrain following the Psalm verse and the Doxology) plus one *uersus ad repetendum*, as Alejandro Planchart suggests, or the fourth complex could function as an alternative.[17] The manuscript also preserves tropes for the Introit, Offertory and Communion in the third Mass for Christmas (whose Introit is *Puer natus*, discussed above), and the Masses for Saint Stephen (26 December) and John the Evangelist (27 December).[18] The abbey's singers thus had at their disposal the means to embellish the liturgies for these three days to a significant degree as they chose. Parallel to the selection of tropes in Pa 1240 is its collection of prosae in the main proser and its supplement. Here are to be found three prosae for Christmas, again allowing for the embellishment of the liturgy and flexibility as to choice.[19]

Two subsequent additions to Pa 1240 show that the abbey's musicians composed new pieces to supplement the liturgy for their patron saint. A series of Introit tropes for the Mass of Martial (fols. 78v-79r) and a group of items for his Office (fols. 96r-97r) are known from no earlier witness, and so may plausibly be regarded as compositions created at the abbey. The troped Mass for Saint Martial in the earliest layer of Pa

[16] Pa 1240 fols. 18vb-19rb. See *CT* 1:226–29.

[17] Planchart, "On the Nature of Transmission," pp. 220–22. Pa 1240 (fols. 30va-31rb) similarly preserves four trope complexes for the Easter Introit *Resurrexi*; see *CT* 3:256–60; and Planchart, "On the Nature of Transmission," pp. 227–29.

[18] Pa 1240 fols. 18vb-20vb. See *CT* 1:226–40.

[19] Pa 1240 fols. 46ra-48ra and 17vb-18rb. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:51–54; and "The Repertory of Proses," pp. 154a–57b.

1240 (fol. 36ra-va) consists for the most part of items that share associations with both Saints Martin and Martial.[20] The additional tropes provided in the supplement make specific allusions to Martial by using forms of the place names for Limoges and Aquitaine.[21] They were therefore most likely composed at Saint Martial, possibly by the scribe who entered them into Pa 1240, but in any case, specifically for the liturgy of Martial. The second addition (fols. 96r-97r) provides a portion of Matins for a Feast of Saint Martial.[22] These chants all form part of the complete patronal Offices for Martial in Pa 1085 and so were also probably composed at the abbey, again to create a more distinctive liturgy for the patron saint.[23]

The idea that musicians at Saint Martial could impose a personal or institutional stamp on the liturgy through the introduction of tropes and prosae persisted in the eleventh century and became one of the principal motivations for the production of troper-prosers in the abbey's scriptorium during this period. Successive generations of musicians at Saint Martial sought to record their preferences in writing by selecting, editing and suppressing items from the preserved tradition, and adding new material as they saw fit or as they perceived institutional demands to require. Adémar and his uncle Roger, the abbey's cantor in the previous generation, actively contributed to this process, and left their imprint on the abbey's musical practices and repertories.

A very different repertory appears in the earliest layers of Pa 1154. Although it is quite possible that this codex was not copied at Saint Martial, it was definitely present at the abbey by Adémar's time, as his quotation from its version of the prosa *Concelebremus* for Martial in his *Epistola de apostolatu* shows (see Chapter 2 below).[24] The manuscript contains a rich collection of lyric song from the Carolingian period, remarkable for, among other things, having been compiled over a century after the composition of the newest items in the manuscript as a kind of musical retrospective of the era. Whatever the motivation may have been for its production, the monks of Saint Martial acquired it soon after

[20] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 70; see also Chapter 3 below.

[21] *Marcialem duodenus* and *Marcialis meritum*; see Edition I.3.F and H, respectively.

[22] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," pp. 210, 216, suggests, without explanation, that this Matins is intended for the Octave of the Feast of Saint Martial, 7 July, presumably because the selection of chants resembles that for the saint's Octave in Pa 1085 fols. 77v-78r.

[23] See Edition AppH.1 and 2 for the Offices of the principal feast for Martial and his Octave, respectively.

[24] On Pa 1154, see Spanke, "Rhythmen- und Sequenzenstudien"; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 164; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 73–78 and 123–78; and Barrett, "Music and Writing."

it was copied or in the early eleventh century at the latest. Perhaps they were attracted by the range of issues that the texts in the collection debate, including penitential and devotional themes, the Last Judgement, and the topic of death as considered in the genre of the *planctus*. Jacques Chailley characterizes it as a personal collection that draws together the compiler's own favourite poems on these issues.[25]

Many of the poems are furnished with musical notation in the Aquitanian dialect that was added later, probably in the late tenth century.[26] While it is impossible to say whether the musical settings were created at Saint Martial or even whether the notation was inscribed there, we may presume that the music held some interest for the abbey's singers, and I would venture to say that they undertook its performance there at least occasionally.[27] We perhaps have a hint in this repertory and the abbey's possession of the codex of the enthusiasm for the Latin lyric that was to develop at Saint Martial throughout the twelfth century and flourish into a sophisticated practice of monophony and two-voiced polyphony with both sacred and secular texts.[28]

From these two manuscript witnesses, then, we can characterize the musical environment at the abbey of Saint Martial around AD 1000. The abbey's musicians embraced a wide variety of repertories that reflected the latest developments in liturgical music, on the one hand, and a retrospective fascination with lyric expression from the Carolingian era on the other. The latter body of song also broadens the focus of the abbey's musical practice outside the realm of liturgical music, although the lyric repertory does concern itself largely with spiritual issues. The very fact that we can make these deductions, that these witnesses survive from the tenth century, emphasizes that the musical community at Saint Martial greatly valued musical literacy and the preservation of musical manuscripts.

[25] Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 158–59; see also Barrett, "Music and Writing," pp. 57–65, 73–85.

[26] Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 164, and *L'école*, p. 77, suggests that the notation was added later, a suggestion with which Barrett concurs and supplements with the proposed date of the late tenth century, "Music and Writing," p. 86.

[27] Chailley, *L'école*, p. 159, stresses the importance of the musical content for the codex's medieval owners. See also Barrett, "Music and Writing," pp. 85–93.

[28] See the comments of Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 333–45, on the transitional period between the repertory of Pa 1154 and the twelfth-century Latin lyric. The best surveys of the later repertory remain unpublished: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," and Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony." See also Grier, "A New Voice," and Carlson, "Striking Ornaments." I initially concluded that this repertory did not originate at Saint Martial, Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 52–56, in agreement with Fuller, "The Myth," but have now revised that opinion, Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 84–85.

THE MUSICAL COMMUNITY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Around the turn of the millennium, that musical community demonstrated a renewed commitment to the use of notation for the inscription of musical repertories. Its interests, however, became more narrowly focused on liturgical chant, and the enthusiasm for the lyric, exhibited in the acquisition and preservation of Pa 1154, apparently waned. Nevertheless, the abbey's singers continued to collect and create newly composed material in the liturgical genres, as they had in the previous century. It seems possible to me that this concentration on liturgical music may have arisen as a response to the social and political disruptions of the last decades of the tenth and the first of the eleventh centuries. The unstable political environment in Aquitaine during the late tenth century in combination with natural disasters like the plague of *sacer ignis* of 994 created a sense of disquiet among the populace of Limoges. To appease the people, church leaders initiated such strategies as the Peace of God, and promoted local religious cults, like that of Martial, through pilgrimage and the veneration of relics.[29]

For their part in these movements, the monks at Saint Martial felt obliged to present ever more elaborate liturgies, particularly in support of the cult of saints and their relics. Music, naturally, occupied a central place in the practice of the liturgy, and the abbey's singers continued to augment and record the liturgical repertories in use at the abbey. The first attempts appear to have failed. A troper and a processional, both written around AD 1000, survive as fragments that show marked signs of incompletion. The endleaves of Pa 1834 (the troper) and the lower text of a palimpsest in the last gathering of Pa 1085 (the processional) preserve what remains of these projects.[30] Both fragments resemble each other in their general disposition: both were originally conceived as elaborate manuscripts, their text hands are similar and the music in both may have come from the same music scribe.

Nevertheless, the scriptorium at Saint Martial failed to complete either project. No writing appears, for example, on Pa 1834 fol. 151r, the first

[29] This is one of the principal themes of Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*; see especially pp. 24–49. See also the essays collected in Head and Landes, eds., *The Peace of God*; and Head, "The Development of the Peace of God." On the cult of relics, see Grabar, *Martyrium*; Boussel, *Des reliques*; Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques*; Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, pp. 177–300; the essays collected in Legner, ed., *Reliquien*; and Geary, *Furta sacra*.

[30] On Pa 1834, see Emerson, "Fragments of a Troper." On the two projects, see Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 70–81.

page of the fragmentary troper. The scribe began at the top of fol. 151v midway through the Mass for the Dedication with its Offertory trope as if he were beginning a new libellus.[31] Even more curious is the condition of the text on fol. 1r. The bottom-right corner of fol. 1 is torn away, with resultant loss of text on fol. 1v. The Mass for John the Baptist begins here on fol. 1v, and it may have opened with a decorated initial, like the Masses for Ascension (fol. 151v), Pentecost (fol. 2v) and Saint Peter (fol. 152v), which was then removed. In any case, the text on fol. 1r stops short of the tear, as if it were entered after the corner was removed.

Similarly, the fragmentary processional in the lower text of the palimpsest in the last gathering of Pa 1085 was also left incomplete before it was appropriated for the completion of the abbey's antiphoner. Several of the items left unerased in the lower margin of the antiphoner lack musical notation even though ample space is given. And the visible marks of erasure on the balance of the pages run principally along the lines of text; it would appear that the music for these texts was never entered. Still these two failed enterprises indicate that the scriptorium at Saint Martial was prepared to devote significant resources to the recording of liturgical music, and that the abbey's musicians were expanding the repertories of music in use or available in writing.

First, the processional visible in the last gathering of Pa 1085 represents an attempt to collect, apparently for the first time at Saint Martial, the repertory of processional chants. The range of genres represented in liturgical books made at Saint Martial in the early eleventh century, such as Pa 1120, 1121 and 909, widens considerably from the two repertories found in Pa 1240, namely Proper tropes and prosae. The eleventh-century codices include, as well as these two genres, Ordinary tropes, sequentiae (i.e., untexted or partially texted sequences), processional antiphons, Offertories, Tracts and Alleluias. The processional in Pa 1085 is the earliest extant witness to that expansion of repertories.

Second, although the endleaves of Pa 1834 do not present a new genre for the abbey, they nevertheless show that its monks were actively expanding those already represented in writing. The troped Masses for both Ascension and Pentecost, for example, exhibit a much larger selection of tropes than do the corresponding Masses in Pa 1240. The Mass for Ascension in Pa 1240 includes two trope complexes for the Introit and one trope complex consisting of two elements for the Offertory.

[31] For a complete list of tropes in the fragment, see Emerson, "Fragments of a Troper," pp. 371b–72b.

In contrast, Pa 1834 presents five trope complexes (including both those present in Pa 1240) for the Introit, the one trope complex for the Offertory found in Pa 1240 but here expanded to four elements, and a single trope complex for the Communion.[32] Likewise, the Mass for Pentecost in Pa 1834 expands on that in Pa 1240: six trope complexes for the Introit, and one each for the Offertory and Communion as opposed to two trope complexes in Pa 1240 for the Introit (again, both present in Pa 1834) and none for either Offertory or Communion.[33]

Clearly, the liturgy at Saint Martial was expanding in the last decades of the tenth century, along with the need for written support of the chant repertories. The endleaves of Pa 1834 and the palimpsest in Pa 1085 show the scriptorium inscribing repertories both already present in Pa 1240, such as the Proper tropes, and those being recorded for the first time, as in the processional in the last gathering of Pa 1085. Although the scriptorium could not complete these two projects, they constitute important precedents for its undertakings early in the eleventh century. And one of the central features of later manuscripts produced at Saint Martial that these two fragments anticipate is the grouping of liturgical chant by genre rather than liturgical assignment.

Under this system, instead of placing in sequence the constituent chants for a given feast across the various liturgical genres, pieces of the same genre, like processional antiphons or Proper tropes, occur together. The fragments in Pa 1834 and 1085 show these genres placed in separate manuscripts, but the eleventh-century codices from Saint Martial, beginning with Pa 1120, collect the liturgical genres into libelli that in turn constitute the component parts of the codex. The significance of employing this strategy of organization is profound for musical practice at the abbey. For these books could not be used in the liturgy by the solo singers, nor could the cantor consult them efficiently when planning the liturgy. To confirm the musical content of a particular feast, say that of Saint Michael, the cantor or soloist would have to consult each of the libelli in turn. Without an index and often with a sparing supply of rubrics, this task would be prohibitively time-consuming. My conclusion, amplified in Chapter 2 below, is that these books found principal employment among those who needed to learn the full repertory

[32] Emerson, "Fragments of a Troper," p. 371b; and *CT* 3:269–73. See also Planchart, "The Transmission of Medieval Chant," pp. 357–60; and Grier "Roger de Chabannes," p. 70.

[33] Emerson, "Fragments of a Troper," p. 371b; *CT* 3:273–77 lacks the last two trope complexes for the Introit.

of solo song for the Mass one genre at a time. I would propose that the principal audience for books of this type would be the abbey's solo singers, but a second constituency would be those who aspired to that station.

The need to produce a full written record of the music for Mass and Office in use at Saint Martial found expression in the production of Pa 1085 (with music for the Divine Office) and 1120 (containing music for the Mass), probably in the 1010s. This was clearly a large-scale endeavour that consumed a significant portion of the scriptorium's resources. Roger de Chabannes, Adémar's uncle and cantor of Saint Martial, participated in the project if he did not, as I believe he did, direct it in his capacity as cantor.[34] I tentatively ascribe the principal text hand of Pa 1085 to him. Both books principally address the abbey's solo singers, focusing on their repertories and providing more information for the pieces they would sing in the liturgy.

Codex Pa 1085 is an abbreviated antiphoner for the full liturgical year that provides the cantor with a complete list of the liturgical chants to be sung in the Divine Office.[35] Most items are represented by incipit only. Those most often written out in full and furnished with musical notation, in whole or part, are the verses for the responsories in Matins, which were sung by the soloists. With its list of chants, it may well have served the cantor as a guide in planning the liturgy, assigning singers for the solo portions of the chant, and reminding the soloists of the most important texts and music they would be required to sing. A similar but much smaller list appears in Pa 1240 fols. 66r-78v, consisting mostly of cues for the antiphons of Lauds.[36]

Similarly, Pa 1120 principally addresses the needs of the solo singers in the abbey's musical community, or those preparing to obtain that status. The codex is organized in libelli or sections that correspond to the physical structure of the codex, and each libellus presents a discrete liturgical genre, ordered according to the liturgical year.[37] The following genres appear in the manuscript: Proper tropes, Ordinary tropes, prosae, processional antiphons, Offertories, and other antiphons. These collections present most of the music sung by the soloists in the Mass. The choral portions of these chants are usually represented by cue only, most often without musical notation. Such is the case, for example, in the Proper and Ordinary chants into which their respective tropes are introduced. And in the offertoriale, only the opening of the refrain appears,

[34] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes." [35] Grier, "The Divine Office."
[36] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," pp. 206–8. [37] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 108–9.

probably just the music intoned by the soloist to begin the chant. On the other hand, the solo passages of these chants are written out in full.

This codex too, like Pa 1834 and the palimpsest in Pa 1085, represents an expansion of the liturgical repertories now preserved in writing at Saint Martial. First, no earlier comprehensive collection of Ordinary tropes or Offertories exists from the abbey.[38] The respective libelli of these genres in Pa 1120 may be the first attempts by the abbey's musicians to produce a full record of them in musical notation, just as the palimpsest in Pa 1085 probably represents the first attempt to write down the abbey's repertory of processional antiphons. Second, the repertories attested in earlier sources from Saint Martial, specifically the Proper tropes and prosae, experience a growth in size in Pa 1120, although the repertory of Proper tropes increased less precipitously than during the period between the production of Pa 1240 and 1834.

For example, the Ascension Mass in Pa 1120 preserves one extra trope complex for the Introit over the group preserved in Pa 1834, while both Pa 1834 and 1120 agree in the selection and order of tropes for the Introit of Pentecost.[39] The proser in Pa 1120 is a good deal larger than that in Pa 1240. Some of that increase ensues from a larger number of prosae for individual feasts, as, for example, in the feast of Saint Martial, which receives a single prosa in Pa 1240 as compared with five in Pa 1120 (including the one in Pa 1240).[40] Much more of the enlargement, however, arises from the significantly higher number of feasts represented in the proser of Pa 1120. The four Sundays of Advent combine to present six prosae in Pa 1120, for example, whereas no prosae for any of these Sundays appear in Pa 1240.[41]

In comparison with its predecessors Pa 1240 and 1834, therefore, Pa 1120 is conservative in nature, and principally concerned with preservation. The profile of the repertories it contains suggests that its compilers, Roger de Chabannes among them, held as their primary motive the recording of the existing chants in use or known at Saint Martial. There is very little evidence that it preserves any significant quantity of newly composed

[38] Pa 1240 contains a small collection of Gloria and Sanctus tropes (fols. 38rb-43vb) and includes a few Ordinary tropes among the Proper tropes: Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 165; Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 138; Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria*, p. 20; *CT* 4:135–36; *CT* 7:283; and Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," p. 194.

[39] Emerson, "Fragments of a Troper," p. 371a–b; *CT* 3:270–71 (Ascension), 273–76 (Pentecost). Planchart, "The Transmission of Medieval Chant," pp. 359–60, omits the trope added to the Ascension Mass in Pa 1120. See also Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 70, 109–13.

[40] Pa 1240 fols. 59vb-60va; Pa 1120 fols. 125v-130v. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:54, 186.

[41] Pa 1120 fols. 106r-108r. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:182–83.

material. Its principal achievement lies in the fact that the failed projects initiated in Pa 1834 and the palimpsest in Pa 1085 were brought to fruition in this codex, and the most important soloists' music for the Mass was collected between two covers. Finally, in view of subsequent liturgical developments at the abbey, we note that both Pa 1085 and 1120 treat its patron saint, Martial, unequivocally as a bishop.[42]

It was in the midst of these attempts by the musical community at Saint Martial to compile a comprehensive written record of its sacred repertories that Adémar's formative musical experiences as a young adult took place. He pursued his advanced education there, under the tutelage of his uncle Roger, around the year 1010, perhaps a decade after the failed experiments to preserve the processionals and Proper tropes. Not long after 1010, in my reconstruction, the abbey's musicians, including Roger, embarked on the project to produce Pa 1085 and 1120 and therein codify the practice of liturgical chant at Saint Martial. Adémar must have been aware of prevailing attitudes towards musical notation and literacy among his musical peers and seniors. He must have sensed their chagrin at not having been able to complete the earlier projects, and perhaps their enthusiasm for the large undertaking that resulted in the production of Pa 1085 and 1120.

What is clear from Adémar's subsequent musical undertakings is the value he placed on musical notation as a tool for recording and preserving chant. As I discuss in Chapter 2 below, Adémar used his experience as a text scribe and his ingenuity to improve the level of visual information provided by notation. These developments moved Aquitanian notation several steps away from being a purely mnemonic aid and instead towards constituting a literate tradition (one in which the music can be read without prior knowledge of the piece). The inscription of musical notation became a high priority in the scriptorium at Saint Martial during the first decades of the eleventh century. Adémar would have had some personal contact with the forces at work within the musical community through his studies with Roger, and he would have witnessed some of these activities during his stay at the abbey. Most important, however, the devotion of considerable resources of the abbey to the production of music manuscripts shaped his appreciation for the power of the written testimony provided by musical notation.

[42] See the rubric for Martial's feast in Pa 1085 fol. 76v: "Natale sancti ac beatissimi patroni nostri domini Martialis praesuli[s] Lemouicensis," where *prasesul* means "bishop" (see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 62–64; also *idem*, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 117–19.

The musical community in which Adémar received his advanced education and to which he eventually contributed in the second half of the 1020s, after his uncle's death, exhibited a blend of conservative and progressive characteristics. Among the latter stand an ongoing interest in the newer genres of chant, namely tropes and prosae. Codices Pa 1834 and 1120 attest a significantly expanded repertory of Proper tropes over that present in Pa 1240. Some of that increase took place in the tenth century, prior to the production of Pa 1834, but the repertory continued to grow in the early years of the eleventh century. The proser of Pa 1120 is also much larger than the collection of prosae in Pa 1240. It is impossible to ascertain precisely when the new pieces entered the abbey's repertory. It seems most likely, however, that, in parallel with the increase in the repertory of Proper tropes, the expansion occupied some portion of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Finally, the musical community at Saint Martial displayed considerable enterprise and energy to record these and other liturgical repertories in musical notation.

The conservative aspects of the musical community's activities also emerge from that large project to create Pa 1085 and 1120. Both manuscripts share a single principal purpose: to preserve the existing liturgical repertories in use at the abbey. A handful of new compositions occur in both collections, among the verses for responsories in Matins, for example, or in the liturgies for saints whose cults flourished in Limoges, like Martial, obviously, or Valérie.[43] The bulk of the repertory in Pa 1085 and 1120, however, is well attested at other centres in the tenth century. Their production was not engendered by significant compositional initiatives at the abbey, nor did it provoke such an undertaking. Instead, these two manuscripts conserve the prevailing musical practice at Saint Martial of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

ADÉMAR DE CHABANNES (989–1034)

Adémar de Chabannes was born in approximately 989 to a family of the lesser aristocracy that held important ties to the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Limoges.[44] As mentioned above, his paternal ancestors Aimo and

[43] On the verses of responsories, see Grier, "The Divine Office," pp. 185–91. On the liturgies of Martial and Valérie, see Chapters 3 and 5 below.

[44] The key autobiographical statements occur in: Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.45, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 165; [Adémar], *Commemoratio abbatum*, ed. Duplès-Agier, pp. 3–4; and Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*. For modern commentary, see Castaigne, "Dissertation," especially the genealogical

Turpio coincidentally held the positions of abbot of Saint Martial and bishop of Limoges in the tenth century, and, in his father's generation, his paternal uncles Adalbertus (†1007) and Roger (†1025) were deacon and cantor at the abbey. Adémar himself, however, was pledged as an oblate ("ab ipsa tenerrima pueritia" "from my tenderest youth") not to Saint Martial, where the office of abbot lay in the hands of the vicomital family, but to the abbey of Saint Cybard in Angoulême.[45] There, safely away from the political strife of Limoges and its environs, he might aspire to the highest monastic office.[46]

He must have shown extraordinary promise from his earliest days at Saint Cybard since the monks there undertook to send him to Limoges and Saint Martial for his advanced education under the tutelage of his uncle Roger in his late teens or early twenties.[47] Those studies would have included, besides a continuation of the general literacy he would have acquired at Saint Cybard, more advanced study of literature, sacred and pagan, the writing of Latin script and Tironian notes, and computus.[48] Finally, and most important for our purposes, Adémar had the opportunity to study the liturgy under the person who was soon to become responsible for all aspects of its execution at Saint Martial in his capacity as cantor, his uncle Roger de Chabannes. He would have studied the constituent literary and musical texts of the liturgy, its performance, the planning and production of liturgical books, including the music books that provided written support for the preparation of the liturgy, and the Aquitanian dialect of musical notation.

table following p. 96; Nadaud, *Nobiliaire*, pp. 44–47; Lair, *Historia*, Appendix 8, "Généalogie d"Adémar," pp. 273–76 (genealogical table, p. 273); Levillain, "Adémar de Chabannes"; Duguet, "L'ascendance d'Adémar de Chabannes," genealogical table, p. 14; Landes, "Autour d'Adémar," genealogical table, p. 43; *idem*, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 77–80; Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 60–61; and Barrière, "Adémar et sa famille," genealogical table, p. 57.

[45] Quotation: Pa 5288 fol. 51rb (printed Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, col. 89C). At Pa 2469 fol. 100v, he states, "Ego autem Engolismae positus, ubi etiam ab ineunti aetate educatus sum" ("I, moreover, placed in Angoulême, where from my earliest age I was brought up"; printed [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, col. 1363D). On the vicomital family and its control of Saint Martial, see R. de Lasteyrie, *Étude sur les comtes*, pp. 81–85; C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 67–71; Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft*, pp. 217–20; and Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, pp. 25–29.

[46] On the choice of Saint Cybard, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 79–80.

[47] Adémar was in Limoges for his education in 1010, when he would have been twenty-one years of age: Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.46, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 165–66 (quoted by Itier, *Chroniques* 53.2, ed. Lemaître, p. 14); Adémar gives the date in the next passage, *Chronicon* 3.47, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 166, "Ipso anno . . . millesimo X° anno ab incarnatione ejus" ("In the same year . . . AD 1010").

[48] The principal evidence for these activities is the autograph portions of Pa 3784 and Lei 8° 15. See Delisle, "Notice," pp. 301–32; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 349–62.

His training proved its value to the abbey of Saint Cybard as he copied or supervised the copying of a number of important texts for the house after his return from Saint Martial. Most of these survive in Pa 2400, which contains several texts central to ecclesiastical affairs. Two stand out in importance: an edition of the *Liber de diuinis* of Amalarius of Metz (also known as the *Liber officialis*), partially copied by Adémar, but executed under his supervision and expanded with an interpolation authored by Adémar; and an abbreviation of the *Liber pontificalis*, in Adémar's hand, edited with interpolations by him.[49] The latter, of course, provides an important source of ecclesiastical and papal history for the monks at Saint Cybard, while the former offers guidance on the performance of the liturgy.

During this period, Adémar witnessed an event that was to have profound significance for the final, bizarre direction his career would take. In 1016, as noted above, the monks at Saint Jean d'Angély discovered a skull that they announced to be that of John the Baptist, the patron saint of their monastery. Adémar's colleagues at Saint Cybard attended the gathering of relics convened by Duke William, and Adémar himself apparently accompanied them and witnessed it because he provides two descriptions of the event.[50] Two conclusions emerge from his accounts. First, Adémar expresses some scepticism about the genuineness of the new relic: "quod sanctum caput dicunt esse proprium Baptistae Johannis" ("which they say is the holy and proper head of John the Baptist").[51] Second, he was clearly impressed by the ability of the monks of Saint Jean d'Angély to convince the assembled potentates, including Duke William, Robert, the Capetian king of the Franks, and Sancius, king of Navarre and duke of Gascony, of the skull's authenticity.[52]

The impression thus made combined with an abrupt disturbance in Adémar's plans to ascend the highest ranks of the monastic hierarchy at Saint Cybard to determine the course of the last years of Adémar's career. As a result of his contributions to monastic life at Saint Cybard, he had every expectation of achieving high office there, possibly even of becoming abbot. The position lay in the gift of the Count of Angoulême,

[49] Amalarius: *Liber officialis*, in *Amalarii episcopi opera*, ed. Hanssens, vol. 2; Adémar's interpolation is identified as 4.48, *ibid.*, 3:272–94; see also *ibid.*, 1:216–17; and Mönchemeier, *Amalar von Metz*, pp. 75–81. *Liber pontificalis*: Duchesne, ed., *Le liber pontificalis*, 1: pp. CLXXXIIa-CLXXXIVa. On Pa 2400 in general, see Delisle, "Notice," pp. 296–301; Hanssens, "Le texte," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 47 (1933), pp. 239–40; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 108–10, 362–65.

[50] See n. 12 above.

[51] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 175.

[52] Adémar, *Chronicon* α.C, 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 14, 175–76.

and Adémar expended some effort in ingratiating himself to Count William. The first recension of his *Chronicon*, for example, includes considerable detail about the deeds and accomplishments of the counts of Angoulême from Vulgrimnus, in the late ninth century, through Adémar's contemporary, William.[53]

Finally, the opportunity he sought arrived in 1026–27. Count William, accompanied by Abbot Richard of Saint Cybard and other monks of the abbey, departed on pilgrimage to Jerusalem late in 1026.[54] Adémar, left at home, reworked portions of the first recension of his *Chronicon* and awaited the count's return. As the pilgrims were approaching Constantinople, Abbot Richard died on 5 January 1027. At Angoulême, Adémar held himself in readiness and prepared a magnificent welcome for the count on his return in June of that year. But all, alas, was in vain. Soon after his homecoming, Count William appointed one of his companions on the journey, Amalfredus, to the office of abbot, thereby effectively ending Adémar's career at Saint Cybard.

ADÉMAR AND PA 1121

Crushed, Adémar turned to his family's place of refuge and the locus of his advanced education, Limoges and Saint Martial, probably almost immediately, in the summer of 1027, but not later than the ensuing autumn. There, he at once set to work as the music scribe of Pa 1121, an elaborate troper-proser designed, presumably by the cantor who succeeded Roger, to rationalize, consolidate and expand the repertories collected in Pa 1120.[55] In the libelli of Proper tropes and Offertories, the scribe strives to make the collections more usable. In the former, he streamlines the collection, retaining pieces performed or performable at Saint Martial and eliminating pieces no longer in the repertory, including those without musical notation in Pa 1120.[56] The offertoriale,

[53] Adémar, *Chronicon* α.[A], ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 3 (Vulgrimnus), 5 (Alduinus), 5–6, 7 (William), 7, 9 (Arnaldus) and 11 (William). Adémar retains and expands these materials in his later recensions: *Chronicon* 3.16, 19, 21, 23–24, 28, 35, 41, 57, 60, 62, 65–66 and 67–68, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 134, 138–39, 141, 144–46, 148–49, 156, 157, 161, 163, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184–87 and 188, respectively. See Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 133, 143.

[54] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.65, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 184–85. See Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 154–71.

[55] On the identification of Adémar as the music scribe of Pa 1121, see Chapter 2 below and Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 135–40.

[56] Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 169; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 81–82; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 47–48; and Planchart, "The Transmission of Medieval Chant," pp. 353–60.

meanwhile, presents the full refrain of each chant, which was represented in Pa 1120 by just its opening. This expansion provides complete versions of the full repertory of Offertories for the convenience of the soloist, who is principally concerned with learning the verses.

The selection in Pa 1121 of chants belonging to three genres, namely the Offertory, Gloria tropes and prosae, reveals a slightly more complex pattern. Offertory chants and Gloria tropes in Pa 1121 largely follow those in Pa 1120 in both selection and order.[57] In each genre, the principal scribe of Pa 1121 added a few items not present in Pa 1120, but the augmentation remains slight. The fragmentary proser in Pa 1121's first layer, however, seems quite remote from that of Pa 1120. It shares only four pieces with Pa 1120, whereas twelve occur in texted form in no earlier witness than Pa 1121.[58] Among these are several sequence melodies that I take to be Adémar's earliest extant original compositions.[59]

Several other repertories that do not appear in the older troper-proser occur, for the first time at Saint Martial, in Pa 1121. These include Tracts, Alleluias, antiphons for the gospel chants on the Sundays after Pentecost and the Office of the Trinity.[60] These additions provide a fuller range of Mass chants than was available in Pa 1120, as well as some Office chants, and thereby widen the repertories of chant available to the singer preparing to become a soloist in the monastic liturgy. In sum, Pa 1121 preserves most of the Mass chants in which extensive solo passages occur. The one exception is the Gradual, to which independent libelli were not devoted at Saint Martial until the second half of the century.[61]

Another repertory found in Pa 1121 but not in Pa 1120 is that of the sequentiae, the untexted and partially texted sequence. As attested by Pa 1118 and 1084, this genre circulated in Aquitaine around the turn of the millennium. It was, however, either unknown to the compiler of Pa 1120 or of insufficient interest to him to warrant its inclusion, possibly

[57] For the Gloria tropes, see the inventories in Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria*, pp. 21–22.

[58] See the inventory at Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:196–98. Several of the pieces appear in the sequentiaries of Pa 1118 and 1084; see Edition IXA.25.B, D-F.

[59] See Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 151–54; and Chapter 5 below.

[60] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:190–95; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 169–71; Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 130–31; and Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 147–50.

[61] On the absence of Graduals from the earlier troper-prosers produced at Saint Martial, see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, p. 38. Pa 1134, 1136 and 1137, all dating from the second half of the eleventh century, contain collections of Graduals; see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:212–15, 282–85, 304–7; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 185, 186–87; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 132–33, 134–36.

because it was not practised at Saint Martial in the first decades of the eleventh century. Nevertheless, the principal scribe of Pa 1121 not only decided to include these chants in the new manuscript under production in the scriptorium, but he assigned complete responsibility for their compilation and copying to Adémar. All writing in this libellus, musical notation, the literary text in the partially texted pieces, and rubrics, is in his hand.

He also inserted three signatures in the sequentiary, one that names him, falsely, as a monk of Saint Martial (fol. 58r), one that links him with the monk Daniel (fol. 60r), and one that identifies him as the musical scribe of the libellus (fol. 72r).[62] The last is of especial significance to any investigation of Adémar's musical activities because it constitutes the key piece of evidence for asserting that Adémar wrote musical notation. The first signature, however, "ADEMARVS MONACHVS SANCTI MARCIALIS," indicates his disaffection with Saint Cybard and expresses his hope that he might be able to remain in Limoges. It thereby provides a date for his contribution to the codex, and illuminates the period of his life around the time of the elevation of Amalfredus, Count William's companion on pilgrimage, to the office of abbot at Saint Cybard.

From the perspective of the ongoing development of musical practices at Saint Martial, however, Adémar's most important contribution to Pa 1121 was neither his self-identification as the musical scribe of the manuscript's sequentiary nor the introduction of that genre to the abbey's musical community. It was, instead, his innovative use of accurate heighting in the neumatic notation to provide firm intervallic or relative pitch information. Scholars have long recognized this manuscript as the earliest surviving Aquitanian music manuscript with accurate pitch information.[63] We can now attribute to Adémar, whom I identify as the music scribe of the entire first layer of the manuscript, the introduction of this technique to the scriptorium at Saint Martial. With this system of writing, combined with the use of the *custos* at the end of the line to show the pitch of the first note in the following line, singers could visually apprehend the intervallic content of an entire melody stretching over several lines or pages.

Adémar's notation is not fully literate in Leo Treitler's parlance; that is, because it does not record absolute pitch, it cannot be read at sight

[62] See Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 135–37, 142–47; and Chapter 2 below.
[63] Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 48, 121–25; and Planchart, "The Transmission of Medieval Chant," p. 355.

by someone who does not already know the melody or at least its first note or notes.[64] Nevertheless, it represents a significant step towards full musical literacy and would have profoundly affected processes of pedagogy and transmission within the abbey's musical community. A significant amount of the learning could be transferred from the rote communication of melodies between more-experienced and less-experienced singers to their visual transmission through the medium of notation, now made more transparent through the use of accurate heighting. At the very least, students would need to be told the first note or notes of a melody, and, to be sure, younger singers would still obtain a good deal of their musical formation from listening to older singers perform, just as in today's fully literate musical culture.

Nevertheless, a great deal of the acts of learning and memorizing melodies, of internalizing them, could be assumed by the written, visual form of transmission as opposed to the oral and aural realms. A precocious singer, as I imagine Adémar to have been in his younger days, would eagerly study the enhanced visual information now available in the notation. He would thereby expedite his acquisition of the solo repertory and the level of musical accomplishment that would permit full participation in the liturgy as a soloist and the stature within the musical community that would consequently accrue. Music scribes, too, would find the task of copying melodies facilitated by the new technology. They would be required to situate their neumes accurately on the vertical axis, but they could depend on an accurately heighted exemplar to offer them guidance.

Another issue lies behind this one, however, and that is whether the pitch content of the melodies had begun to assume greater importance for musicians like Adémar and those who adopted his system of heighting. Aquitanian notation had been poor at showing intervallic relationships prior to Adémar's innovations. Do we therefore deduce that those relationships were less important to older musicians than the specification of which notes set which syllables of text, melodic direction and, to a lesser degree in Aquitanian notation, particularities of melodic nuance? Older Aquitanian notation satisfactorily depicts these last three features. Did younger musicians like Adémar feel some pressure to increase the precision with which the notation presented the intervallic content of the melodies? If so, what was the source of the pressure? Or was there an

[64] Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process."

ongoing need for musicians to develop notational techniques that would permit the inclusion of greater detail in general in the inscription of melodies?

My own instinct is that technology develops at the pace at which it is needed, while, simultaneously, some advances occur by pure serendipity. I believe that Adémar's invention or adoption of accurate heighting in neumatic notation is a combination of these two phenomena. On the one hand, musical notation underwent a gradual development at Saint Martial during the tenth century, from the production of Pa 1240 sometime before *c.* 950 through the abortive attempts to record Proper tropes in Pa 1834 and processional antiphons in the palimpsest in Pa 1085 around AD 1000. Each step illustrates the emerging need at the abbey for enhanced written records of its music. The pace increases with the large codification project undertaken in the second decade of the eleventh century in Pa 1085 and 1120. That campaign provoked significant interest in musical notation and its applications, and provided the direct stimulus for Adémar's innovations.

Still, it required the combination of an experienced scribe, a knowledgeable musician and a subtle mind that could conceptualize the connection between musical and physical space. By 1027, when he undertook the musical inscription of Pa 1121, Adémar was an extremely experienced and competent scribe in both Latin script and Tironian notes. He had not only contributed to the production of manuscripts in the scriptorium of Saint Cybard, but had also supervised the work of other scribes, as discussed above. He understood the power of writing and had used it to secure his own position in the hierarchy at Saint Cybard. Moreover, he had studied the liturgy and its music under his uncle Roger at Saint Martial and clearly possessed an intimate knowledge of it.

But to these impressive credentials Adémar added the ability to translate the concept of the musical space between notes, the interval, into its graphic depiction on the page through the use of vertical space. A similar use of space is shared by some of the tenth-century theoretical notations, such as the dasian notation of the *Enchiriadis* treatises, as well as palaeofrankish notation.[65] But neither of these types enjoyed the practical

[65] In general, see Treitler, "Reading and Singing," pp. 145–52. On dasian notation, see Unverricht, "Die Dasia-Notation"; Phillips, "The Dasia Notation"; *eadem*, "Notationen und Notationslehren," pp. 305–25; and Hebborn, *Die Dasia-Notation*. On palaeofrankish notation, see Hourlier and Huglo, "Notation paléofranque"; Arlt, "Anschaulichkeit und analytischer charakter Kriterien," pp. 37–40; Walter, *Grundlagen der Musik*, pp. 25–39; Atkinson, "*De accentibus toni*," pp. 30–42;

application to a wide variety of musical genres that accurately heighted Aquitanian notation did in the hands of Adémar and his successors. This notation was particularly well suited to its function for two reasons: the predominant use of individual *puncta* and *uirgae* to depict single notes, which contributed to its success in representing melodic motion, and the elegant way in which it used grouping and limited ligation to denote the relationship between the sung text and the music. Adémar took full advantage of these features to modify Aquitanian notation for the purpose of showing accurate intervallic information.

ADÉMAR, PA 909 AND THE APOSTOLICITY OF SAINT MARTIAL

After completing the musical notation in Pa 1121, Adémar returned to Angoulême, probably in the late winter of AD 1028, because he witnessed the death of Count William there on 6 April 1028.[66] He was still present in Angoulême on 25 April, and probably left for Limoges again shortly thereafter because of the turmoil that engulfed the city in the aftermath of the count's death.[67] If Adémar's career at Saint Cybard had ended with the elevation of Amalfredus to the office of abbot the previous summer, Count William's death and the ensuing dynastic friction made Angoulême an undesirable place to be. Alduin, William's son and heir, had summarily executed several women implicated in his father's death, and had defeated his brother Josfredus in battle.[68] And so, in the face of this violence, Adémar turned once again to Limoges and Saint Martial.

He arrived in Limoges by June or mid-July at the very latest, where the monks of the scriptorium immediately invited him to serve as the music scribe for the first layer of Pa 909, a commission for the nearby abbey of Saint Martin.[69] It would appear that the scriptorium had

Sevestre, "Quelques réflexions," pp. 253–54; and Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren," pp. 463–65.

[66] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.66, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, pp. 185–87. See also Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 179–93. Landes, *ibid.*, p. 180, dates the *iudicium dei* (recounted at *Chronicon* 3.66, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, pp. 185–86) that preceded the count's death on Tuesday 8 April (the count died on 6 April). First, 8 April was a Monday in 1028 (see Cappelli, *Cronologia*, pp. 82–83), but, more important, the combat was reported to have taken place on "feria secunda prime ebdomade Passionis," which is the Monday following Passion Sunday, the fifth Sunday of Lent, and 1 April 1028.

[67] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.66–67, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, pp. 187–88. See also Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 181–83.

[68] See n. 66 above.

[69] On Adémar's contribution to the production of Pa 909, see Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*"; also *idem*, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 156–59.

commenced production of the manuscript with the offertoriale, which is not accurately heighted. When the resident music scribe failed to replicate the precision Adémar had introduced into the musical notation of Pa 1121, the monks appear to have leapt at the opportunity to enlist him as music scribe for the new manuscript. And Adémar seems to have been equally eager to comply, setting to work on the other libelli of the volume.

The production of the codex halted precipitously, however, towards the end of the libellus of Proper tropes, with a significant portion of the manuscript complete.[70] On 18 November 1028, the monks of Saint Martial dedicated a new abbatial basilica in a magnificent ceremony that, with Adémar as a witness, inspired great enthusiasm for the cult of Martial.[71] I suggest that Adémar interrupted work on Pa 909 in the aftermath of this ceremony to take up a radically new project: the apostolic cult of Martial. Although the origins of the cult are obscure, the earliest evidence of it strongly suggests that it arose from unofficial circles, and may ultimately derive from an oral tradition, perhaps originating among the pilgrims who continuously thronged the tomb.[72] It is clear, however, that, prior to Adémar's promotion of the cult, the monastery's official policy was rejection of Martial's apostolicity, as attested by the liturgical orientation of Pa 1085 and 1120.[73]

In view of the overwhelming zeal for the saint's cult demonstrated at the Dedication of 18 November 1028, Adémar decided to seize the moment, fly in the face of official policy at the abbey, and press for the acceptance of Martial's manifestly false apostolic status. For if the election of Amalfredus as abbot of Saint Cybard and the count's subsequent death represented the lowest points of his career, the growing devotion for Martial provided him with an opportunity to redeem himself. If he could convince the clerics and residents of Limoges that Martial, despite the historical record and the abbey's liturgical traditions, in fact shared

[70] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 245–46 and plates 20–22.

[71] The best sources for the Dedication are Adémar's sermons, which survive in autograph in Pa 2469, fols. 89r–97r, numbered 38–46 in Léopold Delisle's inventory, "Notice," pp. 282–83. Editions: excerpts from nos. 38, 39, 44, and all of 46, Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, 2:479–87; no. 44, C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pièce justificative 5, pp. 422–26; and no. 45, *Sermo III*, *PL*, 141, cols. 120–24. See also Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 199–204.

[72] On the Aurelian legend, which reorients Martial's biography to the biblical period, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 53–72, especially 61–65 (on the possible oral origins of the story) and 70–72 (on the informal and therefore probably unofficial nature of the earliest recension of the biography of Martial that accords with the Aurelian legend, the *Vita prolixior*).

[73] See n. 42 above.

apostolic status with Saint Peter, perhaps he would be invited to stay on at the abbey and never have to return to Angoulême. Although he could not hope to rise to high office at Saint Martial, he would find it safe from the dynastic upheavals in Angoulême, and he would have access to its magnificent library.

Adémar devoted his time between 19 November 1028 and 3 August 1029 compiling, composing and inscribing liturgies pertaining to Martial's apostolic cult into Pa 909.[74] He first composed new Offices for Valérie and Austriclinian, Martial's first convert and his companion on the mission to Limoges, respectively (fols. 79r-85v). These served as a trial balloon to see how the project would be received in official circles, especially by Bishop Jordan, from whom Adémar anticipated the stiffest opposition because of the rivalry between the cathedral and the abbey as the two leading ecclesiastical institutions of Limoges. To this end, the Office for Austriclinian might have constituted Adémar's most powerful tool of persuasion because, in the revised biography of Martial, he becomes the bishop of Limoges, and therefore a predecessor of Jordan himself. The gambit worked, because Adémar proceeded to create an apostolic liturgy for Martial.

He compiled a new troped Mass for the saint (fols. 42r-46v), a series of Alleluias (fols. 61v-62r) and an Office (fols. 62v-77v), which includes an untroped Mass and two prosae. He also wrote, above erasures in the first layer, two further Alleluias (fols. 177v-178r) and a processional antiphon (fol. 251r). Finally, he added a complete sequentiary for the entire liturgical year (fols. 110r-125v, 198r and 205r-v), a "second edition" of the one in Pa 1121. The version in Pa 909 contains melodies whose texts as prosae refer to Martial as an apostle, and an unequivocally apostolic rubric for Martial: "ALIA DE SANCTO MARTIALE APOSTOLO GALLIAE" ("another concerning Saint Martial, apostle of Gaul"). At the end of the sequentiary, Adémar appended two further prosae for the saint and the non-liturgical seventy-two verses (fols. 198r-205r). This material constitutes the liturgical apostolic dossier for Martial. While it includes a good deal of newly composed material, such as the Proper items that comprise the untroped Mass and the material appended to the sequentiary, many of the chants in the troped Mass and the Office formed part of the episcopal liturgy for Martial. Adémar has modified many of the items to contribute to the apostolic polemic.

[74] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 246–49.

Why did Adémar, the most knowledgeable and sophisticated historian of his age in Aquitaine, so abruptly embrace such a manifestly false idea? He would certainly have known the texts of Gregory of Tours, mentioned above, that place the historical Martial in the third century. And he would have been among the first to dismiss the pilgrims' tales about Martial as ahistorical fables. Yet, he staked his career and future on them, convinced both Abbot Odolric of Saint Martial and Bishop Jordan of Limoges of their feasibility within the urban context of Limoges (if not their veracity), and constructed the magnificent edifice of his apostolic liturgy on the foundation they provided. I have noted already the crisis Adémar had reached in his monastic career at Angoulême that led him to seek refuge at Saint Martial, but there are other reasons that may have convinced Adémar himself of the viability of the project.

Western Europe during the central Middle Ages witnessed several ecclesiastical frauds that profoundly transformed the cults attached to them. Perhaps most notorious are the "discovery" of the tomb of Saint James the Greater at Santiago de Compostela, and the identification of Saint Denis of Paris, one of the missionaries sent to Gaul along with Martial, with Dionysius the Areopagite, first-century Greek philosopher and disciple of Saint Paul.[75] Both of these developments occurred in the ninth century and certainly affected the way these saints were venerated beyond the immediate locality of their respective cults. Saint Martial, for example, had adopted a version of Hilduin's Office for Saint Denis by the early eleventh century,[76] and, by the middle of the following century, Santiago de Compostela had become a major pilgrimage destination. I believe, nevertheless, that we should look closer to Limoges itself for the possible precedent that encouraged Adémar to promote the apostolic cult of Martial.

I have already mentioned the "discovery" of the skull of Saint John the Baptist at Angély in 1016 in connection with Adémar's attendance at the event and the power of the relics of Martial and other saints to authenticate the new relic.[77] Here, I would stress the impact that the success of an obviously fraudulent relic had on Adémar. The scrupulous historian distances himself to some degree from the relic: "caput sancti

[75] On the tomb of Saint James the Greater, see Guerra, "Notas críticas"; and Díaz y Díaz, *et al.*, *El codice*, pp. 15–32. On Saint Denis, see Luscombe, "Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite."

[76] Codex Pa 1085 fols. 90v-91v. The Office is edited in *CAO*, 2: no. 114 pp. 574–79. See also Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 38–42, 227–28.

[77] See n. 12 above.

Johannis inventum est ab Alduino clarissimo abbate, quod sanctum caput dicunt esse proprium Baptistae Johannis" ("the head of Saint John was found by Alduin, the most famous abbot, which they say is the holy and proper head of John the Baptist").[78] Nevertheless, he duly recorded the activities that accompanied its authentication, the role played in it by Martial's relics, and the enthusiasm of the duke for it.

When the overwhelming demonstration of enthusiasm for the cult of Martial occurred at the Dedication of 18 November 1028, the example of the skull at Angély may have provided Adémar with the impetus to seek acknowledgement of Martial's apostolicity.[79] Martial's relics, after all, were authentic and powerful, as events of the previous decades had unequivocally shown. In contrast, the monks at Saint Jean d'Angély had a legitimate saint of great authority, John the Baptist, but needed a relic that would become a focal point for the abbey's cult. Adémar sought to create institutional and popular support in Limoges for a revised biography that would associate Martial's authentic relics with a saint of significantly greater stature than the third-century missionary attested by Gregory of Tours, indeed, with a saint of apostolic status.

To link the interests of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the citizens of Limoges, Adémar determined to appeal to them via the powerful tool of the liturgy. He had witnessed and participated in the liturgy all his life, of course, and had seen the efficacy with which it could sway and galvanize opinion, both at the highest levels of society and among the populace. Ceremonies such as the authentication of the relic at Angély and the Dedication at Saint Martial gave compelling testimony of the liturgy's capacity to persuade. Adémar adopted a threefold approach to ensure support for the venture. He first enlisted Bishop Jordan, to which end he created an Office for Austriclinian, as noted above. He needed to work quickly because the bishop, in imitation of Count William of Angoulême, would spend a good part of early 1029 on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[80] Adémar must have made his case before Jordan's departure so that he could spend the duration of the bishop's absence on the preparation of the apostolic liturgy. I would therefore place the beginning

[78] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, p. 175.

[79] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 67, posits the skull at Angély as inspiration for the composition of the apostolic biography of Martial; *ibid.*, pp. 209–11, for the precedent it provided Adémar.

[80] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.68, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, pp. 188–89. See Landes, "Autour d'Adémar," pp. 42–44; and *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 225–26.

of the pilgrimage at the very end of 1028 or early 1029 to give Adémar time to compose and inscribe the Offices for Valérie and Austriclinian in Pa 909.

Jordan's support for and participation in the project was essential. Although some of the monks at Saint Martial (chiefly those who had composed the versions of the *Vita prolixior* that first incorporated the Aurelian legend) showed enthusiasm for the apostolicity, there was certainly some opposition at the abbey and the initial posture of Abbot Odolric is unclear. By approaching the bishop directly with the Office for Austriclinian, Adémar perhaps hoped that an endorsement from Jordan would remove lingering doubts at the abbey, particularly for Odolric. The strategy worked, for Jordan agreed to assist in the inauguration of Adémar's apostolic liturgy for Martial at the end of a diocesan synod convened by the bishop at Limoges 1–3 August 1029.[81]

Second, he devised a spectacular Mass liturgy with tropes (some newly composed, others borrowed from the episcopal liturgy) and some original compositions for the Proper.[82] This, I would argue, he addressed principally to the citizens of Limoges. The Mass was scheduled to be celebrated, thanks to the cooperation of Jordan, at the urban cathedral and it was to feature a display of Martial's relics. The date, 3 August, also coincided with the feast of the Invention of Saint Stephen, which was widely observed in Western Christendom, and the Dedication feast of the cathedral itself. These factors would all conspire to attract a large crowd for the ceremony and Adémar hoped to appeal to them directly through the dazzling music he had produced.

Two pieces in particular stand out. To accompany the opening procession and exhibition of Martial's relics, Adémar devised a troped Introit of singular length. He combined an Introit antiphon of his own composition, *Probauit*, with eight existing trope complexes and two newly composed ones to create a piece that could take upwards of half an hour to perform, depending on the speed of the procession and the tempo of

[81] Saltet, "Une discussion," p. 171, and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 226, give the dates 31 July–2 August for the synod, but at Pa 2469 fols. 103v-104r, Adémar is quite explicit that the inauguration of the liturgy took place on the third day of the synod: "tercia die sinodi" (fol. 103v), "Facta sunt haec dominica resurrectionis die" (fol. 104r), and "ita in hac die, quae est tercia mensis Augusti dies" (*ibid.*) all refer to the same day, 3 August 1029 (as noted by Migne, [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, col. 1375C n. 10; see also Cappelli, *Cronologia*, pp. 66–67; the passage is printed at [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, cols. 1375A–76D; quotations cols. 1375B, 1375C and 1376A, respectively). I also erred in characterizing this day as the day after the synod: Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," p. 97 n. 1.

[82] Grier, "The Music is the Message."

the singing.[83] The Introit concludes with Adémar's two new trope compositions, of which the first, *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus*, employs unusually extravagant language, and the second, *Christi discipulus*, uses an especially florid musical setting.[84] These combine to bring the procession and the Introit to a climactic conclusion as the celebrant, presumably Bishop Jordan himself, and the relics of Martial arrived at the altar of the cathedral.

Even more striking is the troped Offertory *Diligo uirginitatem*, sung while the celebrant prepares the host for the eucharist. Again, the piece combines old and new: the Offertory chant and verses are new compositions of Adémar's, along with the trope that introduces the first verse and the concluding trope complex, while the opening series of tropes is borrowed from the episcopal liturgy. The second verse of the Offertory, *Designatus a domino*, makes a particularly arresting musical statement on two grounds: first, it significantly surpasses the level of melismatic writing found even in the usually florid genre of the Offertory, and second it uses an unusual tonal scheme in which a new tonal centre is introduced and temporarily established, much in the manner of what later musicians would call modulation.[85] I believe it possible that the trope complex *Christi discipulus* and the Offertory verse *Designatus a domino* were designed by Adémar to be sung by himself at these two climactic moments of the Mass.

The third element of his strategy was to create an apostolic Office for Martial that consisted largely of existing chants brought over from the episcopal Office.[86] I believe that Adémar adopted this strategy (as opposed to supplying a significant number of newly composed pieces as he did in the Mass) in order to appeal directly to the older monks of Saint Martial.[87] Not only had they venerated Martial all their lives as a confessor-bishop, but they had contributed to the production of the liturgical books, chiefly Pa 1085 and 1120, that preserve the episcopal

[83] Edition I.3.A-J. See also Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 38–44; and "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 109–18. A modern ensemble, New York's Ensemble for Early Music, directed by Frederick Renz, singing from my edition, took over thirty minutes to sing the complete Introit in a concert setting (i.e., without the procession), 2 November 1996, Marsh Chapel, Boston.

[84] Edition I.3.I and J. See also, on *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus*, Grier, "A New Voice," pp. 1032–33; and, on *Christi discipulus*, *idem*, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 50–54, and "The Music is the Message," pp. 4–7.

[85] Edition 1.3.P-Q. See also Grier, "The Music is the Message," pp. 7–13.

[86] Apostolic Office from Pa 909 fols. 62v-74v: Edition II. Episcopal Office from Pa 1085 fols. 76v-77r: Edition App.H.1. Emerson, *An Edition*, pp. 45–62, prints the texts of both Offices.

[87] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric."

liturgy. Adémar sought to appease them by retaining as much of the older Office as was practicable. Nevertheless, the texts of many of these chants refer to Martial directly as a bishop, and that language was clearly not appropriate for Adémar's new liturgy. Therefore, he modified the texts to bring them into conformity with the apostolic cult.

He also inserted a number of references to the standard liturgy for an apostle. The responsory *Ciues apostolorum*, with verse *Audite*, is incorporated into the third nocturn of Matins, while several of the responsorial verses elsewhere in Matins have specific associations within the standard apostolic liturgy.[88] One of these, *Nimis honorati*, fulfils an especially rich variety of functions on a number of apostolic feasts, including providing most of the text for *Mihi autem*, the Introit of the Mass for the Common of Apostles. Parallel to these direct connections with the traditional liturgy for an apostle are several cross-references to texts that Adémar uses for newly composed pieces in the apostolic Mass liturgy.

The verse *Probauit eum* forms part of the responsory *Beatissimus apostolus*, third in the second nocturn. It quotes most of the text of the Introit antiphon Adémar created for the apostolic Mass.[89] The final section of the Introit antiphon does not appear in the responsorial verse, and this is a phrase borrowed from the Introit *Mihi autem* from the Common of Apostles, whose text incorporates *Nimis honorati*, as noted above.[90] Finally, two further responsorial verses, *Elegit nobis* in *Saluator noster* (second responsory of the first nocturn) and *Principes populorum* in *Praecepit autem* (second responsory of the second nocturn), provide the verse and refrain, respectively, of Adémar's Gradual for the apostolic Mass.[91] This mélange of items simultaneously links Adémar's apostolic Office with Martial's traditional episcopal liturgy, the customary liturgy for an apostle, and, through quotation in the responsory verses in Matins of the texts for the Introit and Gradual, the newly composed Propers for the apostolic Mass. This complex of associations, I suggest, was calculated by Adémar to generate the maximum support possible among the older and more conservative monks of Saint Martial.

[88] *Ciues apostolorum*: Edition II.2.3.E. For the assignments of these texts within the standard apostolic liturgy, see Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 390–96.

[89] Responsory: Edition II.2.2.J. Introit: Edition II.9.A.

[90] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 115–16; and "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 393–95.

[91] Responsories *Saluator noster* and *Praecepit autem*: Edition II.2.1.I and 2.2.I, respectively. Gradual *Principes populorum*: Edition II.9.B. See also Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," Table 1 p. 390, and p. 393 n. 24.

With the liturgy, Mass and Office, thus configured, Adémar believed he was ready for its inauguration on 3 August 1029. He already had the support of Bishop Jordan, Abbot Odolric and the younger monks of the abbey. Furthermore, he felt he could enlist the enthusiasm of the general population of Limoges through the spectacular Mass he had designed, and, with his skilful manipulation of the Office, the older monks at the abbey. There was one constituency, however, on whose opposition he had not counted, and that was the community of canons at the cathedral. Clearly, he supposed that the bishop's endorsement of the apostolicity would be sufficient to guarantee at least their complacency if not their open support. Apparently, he calculated in error.

From the early part of the ceremonies on 3 August, principally Matins and Lauds celebrated at the abbey, Adémar reports no misadventure. But, as the Mass was beginning and the bishop was about to enter the cathedral, a monk from Lombardy, Benedict of Chiusa, attacked the doctrinal propriety of the ceremony and the apostolicity.[92] He spoke in the vernacular ("barbare") while Adémar spoke in Latin ("latialiter")[93] and his arguments swayed the crowd, the bishop and the abbot. The next day, Adémar was on his way home to Angoulême in defeat.[94] What prompted this outburst from the Lombard monk? Adémar reports a later conversation with Benedict in which the latter reports that he was invited to confront Adémar by the cathedral canons: "Ibi canonici sancti Stephani, quia sciebant me valde sapientem, secreto rogabant me ut destruerem hunc apostolatum" ("There, the canons of Saint Stephen, because they knew that I was very wise, secretly asked me to destroy this apostolicity").[95]

The key word in Adémar's report of this conversation is "secreto" ("secretly"). He clearly could not believe that the canons plotted against him with the knowledge of their bishop, Jordan, whose support he had so carefully solicited. And so he placed their meeting in secret, behind Jordan's back, and for their principal weapon they engaged Benedict, a monk outside the diocesan discipline that Jordan could invoke.[96] Mindful that Jordan's election to the diocese of Limoges and confirmation

[92] Pa 5288 fols. 52vb-53vb (printed Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, cols. 92D-97A). See also Saltet, "Une discussion," pp. 175–77; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 238–46.

[93] Pa 5288 fol. 52vb (Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, col. 93D). Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 241, 246.

[94] Pa 5288 fol. 53vb (Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, col. 97A-B).

[95] Pa 5288 fol. 52ra-rb (Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, col. 92B). Saltet, "Une discussion," p. 174; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 227.

[96] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 237.

by the archbishop of Bordeaux had been irregular, as mentioned above, they hoped to bring about his downfall along with Adémar's. In the short term, they earned more success in seeking Adémar's disgrace than Jordan's. So, all Adémar's conscientious planning came to naught because of the malice of the canons and the complicity of a foreign monk.

*

The rest of the story is short and sad. Back at Angoulême, Adémar seems to have lived a lonely existence, with no future there and his hopes to find another home shattered. He wrote, the letter cited above on the apostolicity of Martial as well as sermons,[97] and he forged, principally the letter that purports to be from John XIX and the proceedings of the council of Limoges, November 1031.[98] The sermons bear a particular connection with his musical activities because many of the texts for his original compositions in the Offices of Valérie and Austriclinian, and of at least one item in the apostolic Office for Martial, occur verbatim in the sermons.[99]

The autograph manuscript that contains the sermons, however, Pa 2469, also contains the proceedings of the council of Limoges in 1031, and so must date from the end of 1031 or, more likely, early 1032 at the earliest. This date would permit two possibilities regarding the relative dates of composition for the Offices and the sermons. Either Adémar had already composed the sermons in draft form by the end of 1028 (in which case Pa 2469 constitutes a fair copy), and simply extracted the appropriate passages for the composition of the liturgies; or when he composed the sermons after the composition of the liturgies in late 1028 and the first half of 1029, he incorporated passages from the chant texts verbatim. In either case, the relation between the two sets of texts is significant from the point of view of Adémar's compositional techniques, and it stands as a key piece of evidence in attributing to Adémar the composition of the Offices for Valérie and Austriclinian.[100]

[97] Circular letter: Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*. See also Saltet, "Une discussion"; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 228–68. The sermons are not published; see Delisle, "Notice," pp. 256–66, 268–69, 276–96; and Callahan, "The Sermons."

[98] See Chapter 7 below.

[99] Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," lists the citations for the Offices of Valérie and Austriclinian. On the one text in the Office for Martial that also occurs in the sermons, see Emerson, *An Edition*, no. 96 p. 57.

[100] See Chapter 5 below.

Musical activities, although curtailed, did not cease. Adémar apparently brought with him to Angoulême several music manuscripts from the library or sacristy of Saint Martial, including Pa 1120, 1121, 909 and 1118. His actions left Saint Martial as written support for the celebration of the Mass liturgy only the obsolete Pa 1240 and a manuscript, Pa 1084, from another house and therefore unsuitable for the abbey's liturgy.[101] He modified the troped Mass for Martial in both Pa 1120 and 1121 to enter the apostolic Proper host chants he had composed. Furthermore, in the tropes for Martial in Pa 1121 and the prosae for the saint in Pa 1120, he altered the diction to give the texts an apostolic cast. He seems to have wished to fabricate some retrospective evidence of the apostolic liturgy in manuscripts created before the débâcle of 3 August 1029.[102] Into Pa 1118, he copied two processional items that he had composed for the apostolic liturgy, perhaps in the interest of preserving original compositions to which he was particularly attached.[103] He did not touch Pa 909, the manuscript on which he had lavished the most effort, and which remained incomplete, as mute but eloquent testimony to his failure in Limoges.[104]

Sometime in 1033, Adémar decided to embark on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, like his erstwhile patrons Count William of Angoulême and Bishop Jordan of Limoges.[105] Before he left, he deposited his manuscripts in the library at Saint Martial. These included the ones he had taken from Limoges in 1029 and a couple that properly belonged at Saint Cybard in Angoulême. At Saint Martial they sat, the sermons, the apostolic liturgy, the forgeries, like a time bomb. And eventually, as I narrate in Chapter 7 below, they inspired a new attempt, tentative at first but ultimately with confidence in the materials Adémar had created for this purpose, to secure recognition of Martial's apostolic status. With it, they simultaneously secured the rehabilitation of the man who had been so soundly defeated in debate with Benedict of Chiusa, adopting him as a monk of Saint Martial.

And such was Adémar's life, once full of promise and hope to succeed in the ecclesiastical life so many of his ancestors had pursued. But his own talents seem to have generated his undoing. Count William's

[101] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 154–56.
[102] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 154–55; see also Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," pp. 79–80; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 61–64.
[103] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 165–67.
[104] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 249–50.
[105] See Chapter 7 below.

pilgrimage, when Adémar was left behind to manage affairs at Saint Cybard, ultimately became a lost opportunity with the death of Abbot Richard and Count William's selection of Amalfredus, a fellow pilgrim, to succeed him. Then his attempt to create a new home for himself in Limoges turned to failure. The case seemed invincible, with the support of the leading clerics of the city and a dazzling liturgical ceremony designed to convince any among the urban population who remained reluctant to adopt Martial's apostolicity. Yet he overlooked one group, the cathedral canons. They seem to have acted out of spite for Bishop Jordan, who was presumably unpopular because of his irregular election in 1023, and jealousy of the elevation in status the abbey was sure to achieve because of the recognition of the apostolicity. Accordingly, they plotted to expose the fraudulent nature of the enterprise and enlisted the aid of Benedict of Chiusa to bring it about.

Still, Adémar's voice, silenced in his own lifetime, speaks to us across the millennium that separates us from his turbulent life. First, the sources he left behind created a much longer lasting and more successful apostolic cult for Martial than he could ever have imagined. By the end of the eleventh century, the cult was generally accepted in Limoges and eventually spread to nearby regions. Martial was venerated as an apostle in Limoges until the end of the nineteenth century, long after the abbey had been destroyed in the Revolution. And, in one of those delicious ironies of history, the most outspoken advocate of Martial's apostolicity during the second half of the nineteenth century was François Arbellot, a canon of the cathedral in Limoges whose predecessors in the eleventh century sought to destroy the cult and the persons who had promulgated it.

Second, Adémar's voice speaks directly to us through the manuscripts he left behind. And his musical voice, figuratively and, in the penultimate chapter below, literally, is the subject of the studies that follow. Music scribe, compiler of liturgies, music editor, composer, singer, he pursued each of these activities during a few tumultuous years between 1027 and 1033. He emerges from the autograph documents that survive as a musician of great erudition, an innovative scribe and a composer of significant sophistication. If he failed to achieve the recognition from his contemporaries that he felt he deserved, we, nevertheless, are the richer for having the opportunity to examine an accomplished eleventh-century musician in such detail.

CHAPTER 2

Music scribe

Our principal evidence for understanding Adémar de Chabannes' musical activities lies in the body of music manuscripts that survive with musical notation in his autograph hand. Any investigation of his behaviour as a compiler of liturgies, an editor of music or a composer begins with the study of his scribal activities. Adémar's musical training and most of his professional endeavours as a music scribe took place within the extraordinarily vigorous musical community at Saint Martial. As discussed in Chapter 1 above, the abbey's scriptorium, during Adémar's lifetime, attained considerable expertise in the production of music books for the liturgy and the inscription of musical notation. A leading figure in these developments was Adémar's paternal uncle, Roger de Chabannes, Adémar's mentor during his first prolonged stay at the abbey, around AD 1010, and cantor of the abbey at the time of his death, 26 April 1025.[1]

Roger participated in, or perhaps even supervised as cantor, a complete reorganization and codification of the liturgical music used at Saint Martial in Pa 1085 and 1120. They represent a significant achievement in view of what appears to be the failure on the part of the scriptorium to complete two independent but related collections of liturgical music around the year 1000: the endleaves of Pa 1834, which contain a collection of Proper tropes, and the last gathering of Pa 1085, the antiphoner created during the project of codification, which is a palimpsest whose lower text preserves processional antiphons. The enterprise to record the abbey's entire repertory of liturgical music in the first decades of the eleventh century proceeded, therefore, without complete written exemplars, and required that the music, at least, be inscribed largely from memory.

The music manuscripts used and produced at the abbey from the tenth through the end of the eleventh century document a dynamic musical

[1] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes."

culture. A major contributing element to the development of that musical culture was the adoption, application and ongoing transformation of the technology of musical notation. Clearly, many other factors affected musical practices at Saint Martial: for example, the cultivation of vocal technique or the ambient acoustics of the liturgical spaces used within the abbey would certainly have materially influenced the manner in which the monks of Saint Martial made music. The evidence for these phenomena, however, has long disappeared, and any discussion of their effect on musical practices would remain solidly in the realm of speculation and hypothesis.

The mere survival of the written record, then, guarantees that it will occupy a position of central importance in any discussion of this music, displacing those aspects of musical practice that are not so preserved. But a reliance and emphasis on notation does not necessarily imply that its contribution overshadows that of other factors. It is simply available for study. Nevertheless, the monks at Saint Martial devoted significant resources and energy to the production of music books, beginning sometime in the tenth century with the creation of Pa 1240 and continuing through the eleventh century to the first decades of Cluniac rule, during which the gradual Pa 1132 was written. Along the way, the succession of manuscripts depicts the transformation of a musical culture from one based exclusively on oral transmission to one in which musical literacy has become a defining element of professional musicianship.

Adémar played a major role in these developments, as noted in Chapter 1. First, he became a valued music scribe in the musical community at Saint Martial soon after his uncle's death in 1025. Beginning probably in the summer of 1027, Adémar contributed the musical notation to two important codices produced at the abbey: Pa 1121 and 909, both troper-prosers that also contain other liturgical repertories.[2] Second, he was in a position to appropriate Pa 909 when it was at an advanced but still incomplete stage of production in order to enter his newly created apostolic liturgy for the Feast of Saint Martial.[3] Only a monk of considerable stature in the scriptorium could have succeeded in convincing his colleagues of the necessity of this course of action.

What is common to Adémar's musical notation in these two manuscripts, and constitutes a step of enormous importance in the development of musical literacy, is his technique of presenting accurate relative pitch,

[2] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 239–45; and "The Musical Autographs," pp. 134–59.
[3] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 245–49.

or intervallic, information. Adémar introduced the system into the scriptorium at Saint Martial during his work on Pa 1121. Aquitanian notation, which I describe in greater detail below, was admirably suited for this development.[4] It employs *puncta* for nearly all notes, which are then grouped, rather than ligated, to form neumes. Thus, there is nearly universally a single symbol for each note irrespective of the neumatic context. These can then be placed accurately on the vertical axis to show pitch. Other contemporary notational dialects more often use ligatures for neumes, in which there is not necessarily a discrete symbol for each note. Accurate heighting, therefore, is much more difficult to achieve. Earlier Aquitanian scribes exploited this feature to show melodic direction more accurately than in other notations. Beginning with Adémar, they could extend the technique to convey precise intervallic information.

Adémar supplements the method in two ways. First, he consistently uses the *custos* at the end of each line of music to identify the first note of the following line. When that note shares its pitch with the last note of the previous line, he uses the letter *e* as a *littera significatiua* meaning *equaliter* or unison.[5] This feature permits the singer (or modern transcriber) to apprehend the relative pitch level of an entire melody, even if it extends over several lines or pages. Second, he periodically enters other *litterae significatiuae*, such as *alt* (*altius*, "higher") or *io* (*iusum*, "lower"), as supplementary indications of wide leaps that are already accurately heighted.[6]

It is difficult to overstate the importance of this development in Western music, in which pitch assumes a position of great importance as compared with other cultures, where factors such as rhythm and timbre may be preeminent. Therefore, the appearance of a notational feature that permits greater specificity in the inscription of pitch is a significant step in the evolution of musical literacy and of the musical culture. The principle of assigning pitch to the vertical axis, of course, still forms a basic element of modern notation in the Western tradition. I do not assign its invention to Adémar, but his introduction of the technique into the scriptorium at Saint Martial in the late 1020s constituted an important stage in its dissemination.

[4] *PalMus* 13:126.

[5] Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine," pp. 260–61.

[6] On *litterae significatiuae* in general, see Wagner, *Einführung*, 2: *Neumenkunde*, pp. 233–51; Van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence*, pp. 94–118; Hesbert, "L'interprétation de l''equaliter'"; Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziekgeschiedenis*, 2: *Verklaring der Letterteekens (litterae significatiuae)*; Froger, "L'épitre de Notker"; Rankin, "The Song School of St Gall," pp. 173–77, 181–84; McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, pp. 32–33; and Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren," pp. 408–22.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF NOTATION IN AQUITAINE

The introduction of musical notation to Aquitaine dates, at the very latest, to the late ninth century. Codex Albi 44 is an Aquitanian witness of central importance for liturgy and music in the late Carolingian period. John A. Emerson has firmly dated it to the last quarter of the ninth century.[7] Like the roughly contemporary antiphoner of Compiègne (Pa 17436), it contains a discrete gradual and antiphoner that present virtually all the chants for the Mass and Office.[8] And like the Compiègne codex, it also contains some musical notation.[9] Jean Lapeyre, the first scholar to study Albi 44, suggested that the notation was entered at the same time as the text was copied, observing that the literary scribe left horizontal space between words or syllables to accommodate melismatic musical settings.[10]

This feature is clearly visible on a number of folios of which the most striking is that in the verse *Dominus regnauit* of the Offertory *Deus enim firmauit* for the Mass at dawn on Christmas morning, fol. 5r.[11] The first word of the verse, "Dominus," receives a lengthy melisma on its first syllable, and the text scribe has left a commensurate amount of horizontal space marked with a continuation line between the first two syllables; as Marie-Noël Colette points out, the text scribe has left space for other melismata in the verses for this Offertory, although the music was not supplied in every case. The fact that this early manuscript was prepared

[7] Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. xxiii–lxvi; see also *idem*, "Neglected Aspects," p. 206; and Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," p. 119. Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren," p. 496, gives a brief report on Emerson's findings. On Albi 44 in general, see Dumas, "Le processional," pp. 17–18, 24–29; and *eadem*, *Des moines aux troubadours*, pp. 58–67.

[8] On the antiphoner of Compiègne, see *AMS*, pp. XIX–XX; *CAO*, 1: pp. XVII–XIX; Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 30–76; Froger, "L'édition mauriste du Graduel," pp. 159–60; *idem*, "Le lieu de destination"; Franca, *Le antifone bibliche*, pp. 29–37; Huglo, "Observations codicologiques"; and Jacobsson, "The Antiphoner of Compiègne."

[9] On notation in the Compiègne antiphoner, see Huglo, "Observations codicologiques," pp. 121–23; and on the relationship between the notation in the Compiègne antiphoner and Albi 44, see Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," p. 127.

[10] Lapeyre, "La notation aquitaine," p. 227. See also Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," pp. 118 and 122; and Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. lxi–lxii.

[11] Reproduced at Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," plate 2 p. 136; see also *ibid.*, p. 124 n. 35 and pp. 125–26. Also reproduced at Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, figure 5 p. lxii; see also *ibid.*, pp. lxi–lxii. Other plates: *PalMus* 13: figure 31 p. 204; Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," pp. 135–39; Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren," example 60 p. 499; Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. lxiii, lxv; and Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine," plate V facing p. 256 (see also p. 259 and n. 20 [note on p. 267]). Huglo reproduces fol. 48v; see Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," p. 124 n. 38. Lapeyre, "La notation aquitaine," p. 227 and n. 5, suggested that the music on fol. 48v was added much later by a student; see also Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," pp. 126–27.

from its initial conception for the inscription of musical notation is of great consequence for the early history of chant notation. One view holds that several regional dialects originated independently at about the same time, probably the late ninth or early tenth century.[12] The dialects usually included in this early group are those from Saint Gall, Chartres (Breton notation) and Laon (variously called Messine, Lorraine and Lotharingian notation). Codex Albi 44 demonstrates unequivocally that Aquitanian notation stands with this group.

Already in this early codex, with its sporadic notation, the distinctive elements of Aquitanian notation are present.[13] Most notes are represented by *puncta*, and many of the balance by *uirgae*. Therefore, the vast majority of the notes are rendered by a single, discrete symbol. Most neumes are formed by grouping *puncta* and occasionally a *virga* without ligation. Ascending neumes rise obliquely from lower left to upper right, often ending in a *virga*, which designates the end of the ascent and often the end of the neume as well. Descending neumes are aligned vertically. Ligatures are few and only appear in complex neumes where they are usually preceded by one or more *puncta*.[14] One ornamental neume occurs, the *quilisma* in its distinctive Aquitanian form, which consists of a *virga* and an *episema* with a descending vertical stroke, and is always preceded by one or more *puncta*.[15] Also present are the *oriscus* (written like a minuscule *m* rotated clockwise through ninety degrees), which denotes a note of the same pitch as the preceding note without changing text syllable, and the *epiphonus*, which represents an upwards liquescent, either with a small *punctum* above its left extremity, as in the later form of this neume, or

[12] Corbin, "Les notations neumatiques," pp. 230–31; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 362–64; *idem*, "Writings on Western Plainchant," pp. 54–55; and Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren," pp. 348–49 and 537.

[13] Lapeyre, "La notation aquitaine," pp. 228–29; *PalMus* 13:204–5; Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," pp. 127–29; and Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. lviii–lxv, who states (p. lxiv), "by the time Albi 44 saw the light of day in the last quarter of the 9th century, Aquitanian notation was fully developed in its own right." Clément-Dumas, *Des moines aux troubadours*, pp. 51–52, notes the presence of some palaeofrankish and messine elements in the notation.

[14] Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," p. 127, notes that ligatures are not always preceded by a *punctum*. The editors of *Paléographie Musicale* term a *torculus* whose second and third notes are ligated a *cliuis praepunctum*; *PalMus* 13:118; see also *ibid.*, pp. 154 and 202, and Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxvib. A *porrectus praepunctis* begins with a *punctum* and then ligates a *virga* to a *punctum* and a second *virga* (in effect, a *cliuis praepunctum* ligated to a *virga*); *PalMus* 13:175, and Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxviia–b.

[15] *PalMus* 13:175–76; Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine," pp. 260–61; Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," p. 128; Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxviiia; and Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. lxiv–lxv.

without. The *cephalicus*, the liquescent neume representing descending motion, occurs in its mature form.[16]

The literary scribe left very little vertical space between the rules on which the literary text is written for the inscription of the music. Consequently, although the predominance of *puncta* allows the reader to apprehend the melodic direction securely for the most part, the intervallic content of the melody is not discernible. There is simply too little room for accurate heighting. The question arises as to whether the music scribe would have used accurate heighting had more space been available. Later Aquitanian scribes, at Saint Martial and elsewhere at least through the early eleventh century, do not use this technique, even when ample vertical space has been provided. Therefore, it is unlikely that the scribe of Albi 44 had at his disposal the technique of accurate heighting for precise intervallic information.

The earliest surviving music manuscript from Saint Martial itself is Pa 1240. Although this codex was definitely produced sometime during the tenth century, opinion is divided as to whether it belongs to the period before 936 or to the later part of the century, perhaps after 987. The dating affects our understanding of Adémar's contributions to the history of Aquitanian notation, because the later date would place this codex squarely in the lifetime of Adémar's uncle and teacher Roger, and thereby raise the possibility that Roger witnessed the introduction of musical notation to Saint Martial. Scholars base the earlier date on the historical figures named in the *Laudes regiae* at fols. 65r-66r (the names all occur on fol. 65r-v). These data limit the dates of production to 923–28 and 931–36.[17] Other scholars, including Jean Vezin and François Avril, place the codex in the last decades of the tenth century on the basis of palaeographic evidence.[18]

[16] On liquescents, see *PalMus* 13:189–94, and Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxvb; on the *oriscus*, *PalMus* 13:177–86, and Fischer, "I neumi," pp. xxixb–xxxa. See also Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. lxiv–lxv. Early form of the *epiphonus*, without *punctum*: fol. 50r (reproduced at Emerson, *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, figure 7 p. lxv). Mature form, with *punctum*: fol. 2r (reproduced at Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," plate 1 p. 135).

[17] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," p. 205, gives a full and accurate account of these persons. For other interpretations of this evidence, see Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," p. 69 n. 48, to which may be added Bannister, "The Earliest French Troper," especially p. 421, who supports the earlier date.

[18] Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, 3:271–72; Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, p. 122; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 137–38. At a conference in Paris during October 1985, Jean Vezin and François Avril expressed their agreement with this position; reported in *CT* 7:55 and n. 47 (note on p. 59). See also Landes, "L'accession des Capétiens," p. 159, who suggests that the inclusion of the non-Carolingian ruler Raoul in the *Laudes* may reflect the accession of Hugh Capet in 987 and the definitive dynastic shift from the Carolingians. Emerson,

My own palaeographic analysis suggests that the earlier date endorsed by Emerson and others may be confirmed by hitherto unused evidence from the scriptorium at Saint Martial, namely the set of tenth- and eleventh-century charters preserved in Limoges, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Vienne.[19] The handwriting in two of the charters, both dated 952, resembles the script of Pa 1240 very closely.[20] Irrespective of whether one of these scribes actually wrote the literary text in Pa 1240, this evidence is equivocal in regard to the date of the music manuscript. It is certainly possible that a hand, or even a scribe, found in the scriptorium in 952 could also have been present as much as a quarter century either earlier or later. Yet, charters in this collection from the second half of the century, including the three written by Hildebertus Roitus and dated to the reign of Lothair (954–86) and the one I tentatively attribute to Roger de Chabannes from 992, all exhibit much more uniform and refined hands than does Pa 1240.[21] In combination, the evidence in these charters suggests a date for Pa 1240 in the first half of the century rather than the second.

In marked contrast to the ruling of Albi 44, that of Pa 1240 was designed specifically to accommodate heighted musical notation, with a much wider distance between the rules used for the literary text. Nevertheless, not all the pieces are provided with music, and not all the music was entered at the same time. The main body of the codex employs two types of musical notation.[22] The bulk of the music uses Aquitanian notation that shows some development from that of Albi 44. The *oriscus* takes its conventional form in Aquitanian notation, resembling a minuscule *m* in normal orientation. And, in the syllabic notation of the prosae (fols. 17ra-18vb), the scribe employs the *virga* in isolation (as opposed to its conventional use in compound neumes) to denote the end of a melodic ascent.[23] This nuance

"Neglected Aspects," pp. 205–6, dismisses this dating without argument, asserting that each scholar simply repeats the opinion of his predecessors.

[19] The charters are grouped under the shelfmark Lim 3 H 89.

[20] Lim (32), signed by Amalbertus, is remarkably close to the hand of Pa 1240; text printed in Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, p. 315. Lim (29) is similar, but uses different forms of several letters; text printed in Rivain, "Textes bas-latins," no. 3 pp. 340–41.

[21] Hildebertus Roitus: Lim (26) (printed in Deloche, *Pagi et vicairies*, Appendix VII, p. 39), (27) and (28) (printed in Leroux and Bosvieux, eds., *Chartes, chroniques et mémoriaux*, nos. 1–2, pp. 7–8). Leroux and Bosvieux date Lim (27) and (28) to 954; Lim (26) is dated similarly (i.e., by month only within the reign of Lothair) and so probably belongs to the same year. Roger: Lim (24) (see Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 57–59).

[22] First discussed in detail by Evans, "Northern French Elements," pp. 107–9; with amplification in Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," pp. 197–99.

[23] Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxva; and *idem*, "Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 776," p. 96.

provides slightly enhanced data in comparison with Albi 44, as it supplements the directional information already present in Aquitanian notation.

Apparently sometime after the inscription of these neumations in Aquitanian notation, a number of other scribes added some music in distinctively northern French notational dialects. Emerson enumerates the various associations the monks at Saint Martial enjoyed with ecclesiastic institutions in northern France and subsequently offers the convincing hypothesis that these neumations could have been entered during one or more visits by monks from northern houses.[24] Codex Pa 1240 shows that at least one scribe at Saint Martial during the tenth century, possibly as late as the lifetime of Roger de Chabannes, knew Aquitanian notation well enough to enter it in this manuscript. The fact that only some pieces are noted suggests two possible interpretations: either the compilers of Pa 1240 did not know all the melodies of the musical items they were including in the codex, or they did not feel the need to enter all of the melodies they knew. In any event, the manuscript represents an early stage in the codification of the liturgical music in use at the abbey, and a stage in which the recording of the melodies in musical notation was recognized as being important (hence the space for musical notation provided by the ruling) but not essential.

Two fragments of an apparently unsuccessful attempt to record the liturgical repertories at Saint Martial survive from about AD 1000: the fragmentary collections of Proper tropes (in the endleaves of Pa 1834) and processional antiphons (the lower text of the palimpsest in the final gathering of Pa 1085) mentioned above. These are the only known witnesses for the practice of musical notation at the abbey between Pa 1240, in the tenth century, and Pa 1120 and the main body of 1085, which I date to the first quarter of the eleventh century and most likely 1010–25. The last two sources attest the systematic programme to codify the entire corpus of liturgical music in use at Saint Martial, a programme I attribute to Roger de Chabannes.

This group of sources shows that little technological development in musical notation took place in the abbey's scriptorium in the late tenth or early eleventh century. The notation that Adémar inherited in the late 1020s when he came to inscribe the music in Pa 1121 and 909 shows melodic direction with perhaps greater precision than other contemporary notational dialects. It also indicates the number of notes to be sung on a

[24] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," pp. 197–99.

given syllable of text through the grouping of notes into compound neumes. Some ligation occurs, as do ornamental and liquescent neumes. Nevertheless, the principal features of the notation derive from its almost universal use of single, discrete signs for each note.[25] As Michel Huglo points out, it sacrifices some of the rhythmic and expressive detail present in other notations in exchange for greater precision in other areas.[26]

Still, by the first decades of the eleventh century, singers at Saint Martial could not rely on notation alone for knowledge of the melodies they would be required to perform. The notation uses no consistent or reliable system to denote even relative pitch accurately. Therefore, it functions as a mnemonic aid for singers who already know the melody.[27] If such is the case, however, why bother to write the melodies down at all? If the singers retain the melodies in memory, what purpose does the notation serve? These questions are best answered through a consideration of the nature and function of the books within which the notation occurs.

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF MUSIC BOOKS PRODUCED AT SAINT MARTIAL

The four sources from the late tenth and early eleventh century mentioned above, Pa 1834, the palimpsest at the end of Pa 1085, Pa 1120 and the main body of Pa 1085, show that the musicians at Saint Martial were cultivating two important features in the compilation of musical sources: first, an overwhelming and almost exclusive emphasis on music for the solo singer; and second, the division of liturgical repertories by genre. Codex Pa 1120 exhibits the full fruition of both propensities. Codex Pa 1085, on the other hand, contains the music for the Divine Office, and so, organized according to the liturgical year, is not divided into constituent sections. Still, the only texts in it that are consistently written out in full (as opposed to being cued by incipit alone) are the verses for the responsories of Matins, which are sung by the soloists.[28]

Codex Pa 1120, the Mass book, exhibits the full development of the libellus structure in its organization.[29] A libellus (little book) is a separate section

[25] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 113–17.
[26] Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine," pp. 261–62, 265; cf. Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," pp. 129–31, on the rhythmic signification of the notation in Albi 44.
[27] Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 15–26.
[28] Grier, "The Divine Office," pp. 182–83.
[29] On the organization of chant books in libelli, see Huglo, "Les *Libelli* de tropes," and *Les livres de chant liturgique*, pp. 64–75; in general, see Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, p. 223.

within the larger entity of the codex, or bound book. In eleventh-century Mass books from Saint Martial, including Pa 1120, they coincide with the physical structure of the codices' gatherings. Those in Pa 1120 contain Proper tropes, Ordinary tropes, prosae, processional antiphons, Offertories and antiphons.[30] With the exception of the last group, these too, like the verses of Matins responsories, are solo repertories. The organizing principles present in Pa 1120 persist in the other Mass books created at Saint Martial throughout the eleventh century, including the two into which Adémar copied music, Pa 1121 and 909, the mid-century proser Pa 1138/1338, and the later troper-proser Pa 1119.[31] These principles permit us to make several deductions about the function of these books within the musical community at Saint Martial, and the purpose and utility of their musical notation.

Several aspects of these books indicate that their principal functions were reference, study and pedagogy. Among the sources from this period, Pa 1085, the antiphoner, stands apart from the others, whose repertories primarily concern the Mass. As noted above, it does not fall into libelli, and secondly, it contains abbreviated forms of most of the Office chants. Elsewhere, I suggest, noting the similarity in presentation to SG 359, the early tenth-century cantatorium from Saint Gall, that Pa 1085 may have served as a reference tool for the cantor in planning the weekly liturgy, possibly with the assistance of the weekly cantor.[32] By consulting the list of chants for each Office, they could assign singers for the solo incipits and other passages. The verses of the Matins responsories, which are usually written out in full, would also serve as a reference source for the soloists who sang them, among whom would number the cantor and the weekly cantors.

The Mass books, on the other hand, are all organized in libelli according to genre, as noted in Chapter 1 above. Therefore, the repertory required for a particular feast is scattered throughout the entire book. The

[30] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 108–9. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:176–81; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 167–69; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 80–81; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 128–29.

[31] On Pa 1121, see Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 147–50; on Pa 909, *idem*, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 241–42. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:127–33, 190–95, 230–34, 246–58; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 169–71, 174–77, 179–80, 181–83; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 81–83, 88–92, 96–98, 101–2; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 118–19, 126–28, 130–31, 136–37.

[32] Grier, "The Divine Office," p. 182. Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," p. 207, reached the same conclusion. On the responsibilities and procedures of the cantor and weekly cantor in planning the liturgy, see Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor," pp. 39–51.

layout of the book, thus, inhibits the planning of the liturgy for a specific day. It does, however, promote the study of individual genres. Someone who needed to work systematically through, for example, the Offertories for the entire liturgical year could simply turn to the pertinent section of Pa 1120. Consequently, although a book like Pa 1120 could serve as a reference guide, albeit in a slightly different way from Pa 1085 and much more awkwardly, its physical structure suggests that it was principally used as a resource for study and teaching.

I suggest that Pa 1120 and its successors supply a curriculum for the monastic singer who aspires to become a soloist. The structure of Pa 1120 even provides a plausible order in which such study might be undertaken: the relatively austere musical settings of Proper and Ordinary tropes, followed by the syllabic renderings of the prosae in which clear diction would be an obligatory aspect of the performance, and by the processional antiphons, which are somewhat more melismatic, with the extremely elaborate verses of the Offertories furnishing the greatest challenge to the would-be soloist. In short, our hypothetical singing student could work through Pa 1120, cover to cover, in a systematic, graduated way in order to become an accomplished soloist within the monastic musical community.

Other aspects of the physical condition and makeup of these eleventh-century codices suggest that their principal purpose was study and reference. They use a relatively small module of script for the literary text. Adémar's own handwriting in Pa 909 exhibits a minim roughly 1.6 mm in height, about the same size as the printed text in a modern vocal score.[33] Clearly, it would not have been impossible to read a script of this size in performance, but it would certainly be easier in the context of repertorial study and vocal pedagogy. More striking, however, is the absence of drops of candle wax from the parchment surfaces of these codices. Scholars of opera have long noted the presence of such traces in early printed opera libretti, known consequently as *cereni*, and have taken them to indicate that their owners read the libretti by candlelight during performances.[34] In contrast, spots of wax do occur frequently in the three fifteenth-century psalters from Saint Martial, Pa 774A, 774B and 774C, and I interpret these as evidence that the monks consulted these books during the ceremony of the Divine Office.[35] Conversely, their absence from the

[33] Grier, "Scribal Practices," pp. 385–86.

[34] Smith, *The Tenth Muse*, p. 17; Knapp, *The Magic of Opera*, p. 29; and O'Grady, *The Last Troubadours*, p. 29.

[35] On these psalters, see Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures*, I: nos. 2–4 pp. 7–9.

eleventh-century chant books suggests that they were not used during the celebration of the liturgy, but rather were reserved for consultation during daylight hours.

In sum, then, the organization of the books in libelli, the module of writing in the literary text, and the absence of wax all suggest that codices like Pa 1120, 1121 and 909 were not customarily used during performance. Instead, they probably served as pedagogical references and aids for study. This conclusion regarding the books' function materially affects our understanding of the musical notation inscribed in them. Students consulting such notation under these circumstances would have more time to absorb its details and reflect on the nature of the visual information being communicated. Such information includes pitch, performing nuance and text–music relations. The last is especially important in the less florid genres, such as texted tropes and prosae, where the proper accentuation, diction and declamation of the literary text assume positions of grave importance in the successful delivery of the piece.

The scribes of Pa 1120, 1121 and 909 responded to this situation by increasing the amount and specificity of visual information present in their notation. The principal improvement resides in the introduction of accurate heighting, first in Pa 1121, supplemented by the *custos* at the end of most lines as well as *litterae significatiuae* to confirm large leaps that are accurately heighted, but other developments distinguish these sources, such as better horizontal spacing of the text to permit the inscription of melismata in the music. The text scribe of Pa 1120 has not always left adequate space for melismata. Consequently, I deduce that he was probably not working from an exemplar that included musical notation. The music scribe of Pa 1120, therefore, was often forced to crowd the neumes horizontally.[36] Either he or subsequent users reacted by drawing lines, predominantly vertical but often oblique, to indicate the relationship between text and music. The text scribes of both Pa 1121 and 909, Adémar's collaborators, avoid this problem for the most part by providing more horizontal space where required for melismatic settings.

Adémar employs liquescent neumes in Pa 1121 and 909 in many places where they are lacking in Pa 1120; and in a few cases, he suppresses some that are present in the older manuscript.[37] In general, he seems more precise in his application of the neumes in regard to features of the literary text like diphthongs and multiple consonants. In Pa 909, Adémar supplies

[36] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," p. 115.

[37] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 116–17.

modal numbers, in the form of roman numerals, at the beginning of many chants to indicate their modal identity. These were also added to the antiphoner Pa 1085, presumably soon after its production, and appear in the offertoriale of Pa 1121 in the hand of the text scribe, as well as in the Office for Saint Valéry added to the end of Pa 1120.[38] They provide a kind of clef, informing the reader of the modal orientation of the chant and identifying its last note. Adémar also experimented on two pages of the sequentiary of Pa 909 (fols. 122r and 125v) with horizontal lines as a guide to heighting, not always with good results.[39] In short, these three codices evince a definite progression towards a clearer and more detailed visual presentation of the chant melody.

A COMPARISON WITH THE USE OF MUSICAL NOTATION AT SAINT GALL

At this point, it is instructive to compare the emergence of musical literacy at Saint Martial with developments at the abbey of Saint Gall, the only other ecclesiastical institution from which a comparable series of musical documents from the tenth and eleventh centuries survives.[40] The earliest surviving musical sources from Saint Gall (fragments of Introit and Communion verses preserved as binding material in the Hartker antiphoner, SG 390–91) attest the use of notation there before the end of the ninth century.[41] If we accept the earlier date of Pa 1240, between 923 and 936, these sources indicate that musical notation came into use at Saint Gall perhaps as much as a half century before its documented use at Saint Martial, and roughly contemporary with the production of Albi 44. At an early date, however, musicians at Saint Gall applied the technology of notation to a much wider range of musical repertories than did the monks at Saint Martial.

By the earliest possible date for Pa 1240, AD 923, the scriptorium at Saint Gall had produced, in addition to the Introit and Communion verses mentioned above, noted collections of sequences (Pa 10587 and SGv 317), tropes (Wi 1609), non-liturgical song (Na IV.G.68) and a cantatorium for the Mass (SG 359).[42] In contrast, the earliest noted

[38] Huglo, *Les tonaires*, pp. 110–11; Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 67, 85–86.
[39] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 133–34. For details, see Edition IXA.23.A, B, and 26.D.
[40] For a comprehensive and lucid survey, see Arlt, "Liturgischer Gesang." See also Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens*; and Van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence*.
[41] See Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 1:80b-81b.
[42] On the sequence collections, see Rankin, "The Earliest Sources." On Wi 1609, *eadem*, "Notker und Tuotilo," pp. 27–30 and 39–42. On Na IV.G.68, *eadem*, "The Song School of St Gall," pp. 175–76

portions of Pa 1240 (fols. 17–78) contain prosae (texted sequences) and tropes. Before the end of the tenth century, Saint Gall's musicians had at their disposal at least four additional noted manuscripts: the troper-prosers SG 484 and 381, the processional SG 18 and the gradual SG 342.[43] Two observations arise. First, the monks at Saint Gall recorded the full cycle of Proper chants for the Mass according to the liturgical year at a much earlier date than their counterparts at Saint Martial. Codex Pa 1120 contains most of the Mass chants, but is organized by genre first and then by the liturgical year, as are Pa 1121, 909, 1138/1338 and 1119. And Saint Martial did not produce a gradual until the late eleventh century, when the scriptorium created Pa 1132, nearly two centuries after SG 359.

The second observation relates to the development of the trope repertory at the two monasteries. Susan Rankin documents the way in which the compiler of SG 484 assembled this repertory, as attested by the irregular construction of many of its constituent gatherings. The same scribe then consolidated the repertory in SG 381, whose physical makeup is much more regular.[44] The troper in Pa 1240, written about the same time as SG 484 if we use the earlier date, contains a small collection of tropes in a regular codicological setting.[45] I suggest that it represents an intermediate stage between the active collecting evident in SG 484 and the orderly and full presentation of the repertory in SG 381. Codex Pa 1120, produced much later than SG 381, exhibits the same mature stage in the development of the repertory. Again, as with the Proper chants for the Mass, the monks at Saint Martial created a complete record of their trope repertory a good deal later than the monks at Saint Gall, in this case about seventy-five years later.

The Office chants present a more complex situation. The earliest section of Pa 1240 contains an abbreviated antiphoner (fols. 66r-78v) consisting mostly of cues for the antiphons of Lauds.[46] Even the later date for Pa 1240 would place this collection perhaps twenty-five years before the principal witness for Office chants at Saint Gall, the Hartker

and 181–83; see also Schaller, "Frühmittelalterliche lateinische Dichtung"; and Jammers, "Rhythmen und Hymnen." Codex SG 359 is reproduced in facsimile in *PalMus* ser. 2, 2; and *Die Handschrift St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 359*.

[43] On SG 484 and 381, see Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*. On SG 342 and 18, Rankin, "Ways of Telling Stories," pp. 376–89.

[44] Rankin, "From Tuotilo"; and Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 1:20b-47a.

[45] On the gathering structure, see Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," p. 197.

[46] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," pp. 206–8.

antiphoner SG 390–91.[47] And within a decade or two of the production of SG 390–91, the monks at Saint Martial undertook the creation of a larger, but still heavily abbreviated, antiphoner, Pa 1085. In contrast with these two sources from Saint Martial, the Hartker antiphoner, produced around AD 1000, is a complete, fully noted collection of Office chants for the liturgical year. With this repertory, the monks at Saint Gall did not anticipate their counterparts at Saint Martial but they did produce a much more complete record of their Office repertory in SG 390–91. The earliest source from Saint Martial of comparable scope is Pa 1088, which dates from the thirteenth century or later.

Finally, the character of the notational dialect in use at Saint Gall differed markedly from that of Aquitanian notation. As has often been remarked, the notation at Saint Gall recorded very little pitch information. Instead, it preserved reasonably accurate data about melodic direction (at least within the context of the individual neume) and, because it was much more heavily ligated than Aquitanian notation, an extremely accurate representation of the alignment of text and music. Above all, however, the monks at Saint Gall endowed their notation with a rich collection of indications of performing nuances.[48] Therefore, during Adémar's lifetime, neither scriptorium had developed a notation that permitted a fully literate apprehension of music; that is, singers could not read the inscribed melodies without prior knowledge of them. Musicians at Saint Gall, however, emphasized the manner of performance in their notation while the monks at Saint Martial, under the leadership of Adémar and the innovations he introduced into the scriptorium, were moving towards greater accuracy in the inscription of relative pitch.

Musicians in the scriptorium at Saint Gall applied their notational dialect to a much wider range of repertories generally at much earlier dates than the evidence from Saint Martial would suggest. In particular, the sources from Saint Gall present complete documentation of the Proper chants of the Mass, tropes and sequences well before comparable records appear at Saint Martial. In contrast, the music manuscripts produced at Saint Martial well into the second half of the eleventh century devote much more attention to the solo items of the Mass, including tropes and sequences, than to the choral repertories. It is within that environment

[47] Codices SG 390–91 are reproduced in facsimile in *PalMus* ser. 2, 1; and *Die Handschrift St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 390* and *Die Handschrift St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 391*.

[48] Rankin, "The Song School of St Gall," pp. 183–84; Steiner, "Hartker's Antiphoner," pp. 207–8; and Phillips, "Notationen und Notationslehren," p. 300.

that Adémar learned the technology of musical notation and applied it to the task of recording musical repertories.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF ADÉMAR'S MUSIC HAND

Léopold Delisle in 1896 first tentatively identified Adémar's text hand, as opposed to his music hand, in two music manuscripts, Pa 1978 fols. 102–103 and Pa 1121 fols. 58–72; in 1949, Paul Hooreman suggested that Adémar might have written the music for *Versus de sancto Marcialis* in Pa 909 fols. 202r-205r.[49] Subsequently, Michel Huglo reviewed these identifications and concluded that Adémar had written musical notation in portions of Pa 1978, 909 and 1121.[50] The key piece of evidence for each of these deductions rests in the three hexametre verses that appear at the end of the sequentiary in Pa 1121, fol. 72v.[51]

> O Danihel monachus praelucens dogmate Christi
> in mirabilibusque bonis, tu sis Ademari,
> pertractans actis, qui hunc biblum rite notauit.

(O Daniel, the monk, shining forth in Christ's doctrine and busying yourself with miraculous good deeds, may you be a friend of Adémar's, who noted this book according to religious usage.)

As Hooreman suggests, and Huglo affirms, the verb "notauit" refers to the writing of musical notation. Adémar uses it in just this sense in his *Chronicon*, in the phrase "notaverat nota romana."[52] The question then arises as to what precisely constitutes this book, "hunc biblum," itself a distinctive usage since the more usual expression "hunc librum" would also fit the metre. Is it simply the libellus of untexted and partially texted sequences, at the end of which the colophon appears, or does Adémar refer to the entire codex, as Richard Crocker first intuited?[53]

I take the colophon to refer specifically to the sequentiary of Pa 1121, and understand it as unequivocal evidence that Adémar wrote the musical

[49] Delisle, "Notice," pp. 350–53; Hooreman, "Saint-Martial de Limoges," p. 21.

[50] Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," pp. 79–80.

[51] The colophon is reproduced in Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," plate 17b, and printed with English translation in *idem*, "The Musical Autographs," p. 136.

[52] Adémar, *Chronicon*, 2.8, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 89. See also Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," pp. 47–50.

[53] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:190–91, 2:146, suggests that the main body of the manuscript is the work of Adémar without specifying whether he wrote text, music or both. See Grier, "The Musical Autographs," p. 135 n. 32, for an account of the other scholarly suggestions and assertions regarding Adémar's contributions to Pa 1121.

notation in this portion of the codex. Any further investigation of his music hand depends on this identification. In fact, a palaeographic study reveals Adémar's hand in the notation of three music manuscripts from Saint Martial, and his text hand in a fourth. He wrote the music in the first layers of Pa 1121 and most of Pa 909; in a manuscript that survives in fragmentary form as the endleaves of Pa 1978; and he entered an addition on the penultimate folio of Pa 1118 in which space is left for music, but the notation that was eventually entered is not Adémar's.[54] Among the various palaeographic features of Adémar's music hand, the most distinctive and the easiest to locate is his use of the letter *e*, the *littera significatiua* indicating the unison, as a *custos* at the end of the musical line when the last pitch of the preceding and the first of the succeeding line agree in a unison.[55] Appendix A gives a detailed list of the folios on which Adémar's music hand is to be found.

Even this list, however, does not reveal the full extent of Adémar's music output, as a curious coincidence that links the first layers of Pa 1121 and 909 shows. Both codices were once significantly larger than they appear now. At least four discrete gatherings are missing from the original structure of Pa 1121: one each at the end of the libelli of Proper tropes, Ordinary tropes, antiphons for the gospel canticles and Alleluias. The opening of the Ordinary tropes is also lacking, but it might have occupied part of the gathering that completed the Proper tropes. More grave, however, is the condition of the proser in Pa 1121, which contains a handful of prosae from the end of the collection in a single gathering. If the proser originally encompassed the entire liturgical year, and the other libelli in the codex suggest that it did, then several gatherings have been lost. The proser closest to it in date and place of origin, that in Pa 1120, occupies six gatherings (fols. 106–153), and so a conservative estimate would suggest that as many as four additional gatherings have disappeared from the original structure of Pa 1121.

The first layer of Pa 909 is in no better condition. The original gathering E, in the libellus of Proper tropes, may have been discarded by Adémar when he prepared its replacement, the current fols. 41–48, in

[54] See nn. 49 and 50 above for the identifications of Delisle, Hooreman and Huglo. Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 342, first attributed the addition at the end of Pa 1118 to Adémar. Further on Pa 909, see Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*"; on Pa 1121, 1978 and 1118, *idem*, "The Musical Autographs," where are found also full documentation of the scholarly contributions on these questions, and a detailed palaeographic discussion of Adémar's music hand.

[55] Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine," pp. 260–61. See also Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," p. 239; and *idem*, "The Musical Autographs," p. 139.

which occurs the apostolic troped Mass for Saint Martial, but gathering H, with which the libellus of Ordinary tropes began, was presumably lost inadvertently. Other libelli are imperfect at their conclusion. From the portion of the manuscript in which Adémar wrote the music, a single gathering is missing from the libellus of antiphons with alleluias (fol. 269v); and in those sections of the codex noted by someone else, the Offertories (fols. 206–245) and the Office material in the final gathering (fols. 270–277), are each missing at least one gathering. We have, therefore, lost at least eleven gatherings, or some eighty-eight folios, of music in Adémar's hand.

A second factor that links the current structure of these two codices may indicate why they currently lack such a large proportion of their original content and further suggest something about their fate. As Appendix A shows, the order of many of the gatherings in both codices has been disrupted. These dislocations suggest that Pa 1121 and 909 may not have been bound until quite late, possibly not before their entry with the rest of the abbey's library into the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1730. At that time, the general disarray of the collection and the deplorable state of many of the manuscripts were remarked.[56]

If these two manuscripts reposed in the abbey's library in an unbound state for some time, possibly even some centuries, it is easy to see how some gatherings may have been lost and others placed out of order. And these losses might more easily have occurred from the end of discrete libelli, as frequently noted above, instead of the beginnings, which are often marked with rubrics and illuminations. A gathering that became detached from the middle or end of a libellus would be much more difficult to reunite with its manuscript than a first gathering. Moreover, lying unbound in the library, Pa 1121 and 909 would be much less likely to be consulted than the bound codices, like Pa 1120 and 1085, that sat beside them.

Adémar worked on these manuscripts between mid-1027 and his departure on pilgrimage, probably in 1033. Another signature in the sequentiary of Pa 1121, this one on fol. 58r, provides strong circumstantial evidence for the date of his contribution to the manuscript. It simply states "ADEMARVS MONACHVS SANCTI MARCIALIS." This statement is, of course, a lie, as Adémar several times identifies himself unequivocally as a monk of Saint Cybard in Angoulême.[57] But the crisis over the vacancy in the office of abbot at Saint Cybard in 1027 may have

[56] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 77–78.
[57] For references, see Grier, "The Musical Autographs," p. 142.

motivated him to make this false statement. As noted in Chapter 1 above, Adémar felt himself well placed to become abbot of Saint Cybard when the vacancy occurred during Count William's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On the count's return home in the early summer of 1027, however, he named one of his fellow pilgrims, Amalfredus, to the vacant post, much to Adémar's chagrin.

The elevation of Amalfredus to the office Adémar coveted marked the effective end of his career at Saint Cybard and therefore stands as the *terminus ante quem non* for the signature on fol. 58r of Pa 1121 with which Adémar announced, at least to himself, his shift of allegiance to Saint Martial. Therefore, I date his contribution to Pa 1121 between mid-1027 and 6 April 1028, when Adémar witnessed the death of Count William on that date in Angoulême. I further suspect that his sojourn at Saint Martial was as long as six months to allow him sufficient time to note perhaps 300 folios of music. It was at this time that Adémar introduced to the scriptorium at Saint Martial the technique of accurately heighting the music to indicate relative pitch.

Adémar spent the spring of 1028 and possibly some of the preceding winter in Angoulême. Following the death of Count William, he returned to Saint Martial in mid-1028, where he immediately set to work as music scribe in the first layer of Pa 909, a troper-proser commissioned by the neighbouring house of Saint Martin.[58] I suspect he was invited by the monks of the scriptorium at Saint Martial to participate in the production of this codex because of his skill in heighting neumes. Those portions of Pa 909 with musical notation in another hand, most important among them the offertoriale (fols. 206–245), do not use accurate heighting to indicate relative pitch relationships. It was perhaps in reaction to this failure that the monks at Saint Martial welcomed Adémar into the scriptorium and entrusted this work to him.[59]

Sometime after the Dedication of the new abbatial basilica on 18 November 1028, and I suspect immediately following, Adémar decided to embrace the pilgrims' stories about the apostolic status of Martial and press for his acceptance as an apostle. In support of this claim, he created the apostolic liturgy and appropriated Pa 909, then in an advanced but yet incomplete state, as the vehicle for it. Therefore, I date his contributions as music scribe in the first layer of Pa 909 between June or July 1028 and 18 November 1028, and the second layer of the codex, in

[58] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 237–46.

[59] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," p. 150.

which Adémar serves as text and music scribe, between 19 November 1028 and 3 August 1029, when the monks of Saint Martial attempted to inaugurate Adémar's new apostolic liturgy.

Immediately following the failure of that inauguration, Adémar returned, on 4 August 1029, to Angoulême in disgrace, where he began to assemble the forgeries that would eventually lead to the acceptance of Martial as apostle.[60] He also continued working on music manuscripts, altering the troped Mass for Saint Martial in Pa 1120 and 1121 as well as the prosae for the saint in Pa 1120, adding two processional pieces for Martial at the back of Pa 1118, and creating at least one new manuscript, the surviving remnants of which form the endleaves in Pa 1978.[61] A total of 451 folios with music in Adémar's hand survive from manuscripts whose current condition suggests the original total may have been considerably higher, perhaps by as much as 100 folios, and to whose production Adémar contributed between mid-1027 and 1033. To put these figures in perspective, the surviving text manuscripts in Adémar's autograph hand total some 1,000 folios.[62] To these may be added the folios of autograph music listed in Appendix A above and those known to have perished. Approximately one-third of Adémar's known manuscript production, therefore, was devoted to music, a figure that is strongly suggestive of how important musical activities were in comparison with the other disciplines, such as history and computus, in which he engaged.

THE PURPOSE OF MUSICAL NOTATION IN ADÉMAR'S MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS

If the music manuscripts produced at Saint Martial during the careers of Roger and Adémar de Chabannes were reference sources, as discussed above, then the principal purpose of the musical notation contained therein was the preservation of existing melodies. Such appears to be the function of the sporadic notation introduced into Pa 1240 during the tenth century, as mentioned above. And the overall complexion of the repertories contained in Pa 1120 suggests that relatively little newly composed

[60] On the forgeries, see Saltet, "Une prétendue lettre," "Les faux," and "Un cas"; Landes, "A Libellus," and *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 269–81; Callahan, "Adémar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace Council," and "Ademar of Chabannes and His Insertions."

[61] On alterations to Pa 1120 and 1121, see Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," p. 79; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 62–64, and *idem*, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 154–56.

[62] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 4–14, 342–68.

material found its way into that codex.[63] The same is true of Pa 1121 and 909; with the obvious exception of the material Adémar composed in support of Martial's apostolicity, they preserve the same collections of pieces as their direct predecessor, Pa 1120.[64] Only a small group of sequences, which appear in both the sequentiary and proser of Pa 1121, and whose melodies I attribute to Adémar, attest any quantity of new compositional activity, other than the apostolic liturgy for Martial.[65]

A further sign that the technology of notation was applied principally to the preservation of known material lies in the stability of the melodies so preserved. Although the Aquitanian repertory of Proper tropes certainly experienced a degree of variation in its transmission, within the group of sources that originated at Saint Martial, Pa 1120, 1121, 909 and 1119, these chants exhibit a remarkable consistency in their melodic fabric.[66] Other scholars have noted the similarity between Pa 1120 and 1121 in this regard.[67] The equally close resemblance between Pa 1121 and 909 can be easily understood if, as I believe to be the case, Adémar is the music scribe of both manuscripts. And the dual ancestry of Pa 1119, descended from Pa 1120 and 909, helps to account for the lack of variation in its versions of the Proper tropes.[68] Nevertheless, the very proximity of these manuscripts to one another, in place and date of origin as well as melodic content, strongly suggests that they were produced for the specific purpose of preserving a received body of chant through the technology of musical notation.

A passage drawn from one of the Introit tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial demonstrates the range of variation encountered in these manuscripts and the degree of stability evinced by the witnesses from Saint Martial, namely Pa 1120, 1121, 909 and 1119.[69] Most of the variants concern liquescence, and several manuscripts show considerable flexibility in treating it. Codex Pa 1084a, for example, agrees with Pa 909 and 1119 in providing a liquescent on the second syllable of "decenter," and with Pa 1120 and 887 in not using one on the first syllable of "regna," while it

[63] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 112–13.

[64] On the repertory of Proper tropes, see the agreements noted in the tables in *CT* 1:224–49 and 3:255–78; see also Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 64–65.

[65] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 151–54.

[66] On variation in the trope melodies, see Treitler, "Observations on the Transmission."

[67] Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 81–82; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 47–48; and Planchart, "The Transmission of Medieval Chant," pp. 353–60.

[68] Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 129; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 37.

[69] Edition I.3.B. In the example, I take the oldest transcribable source, Pa 1121, as the model, and only note variants in the other sources.

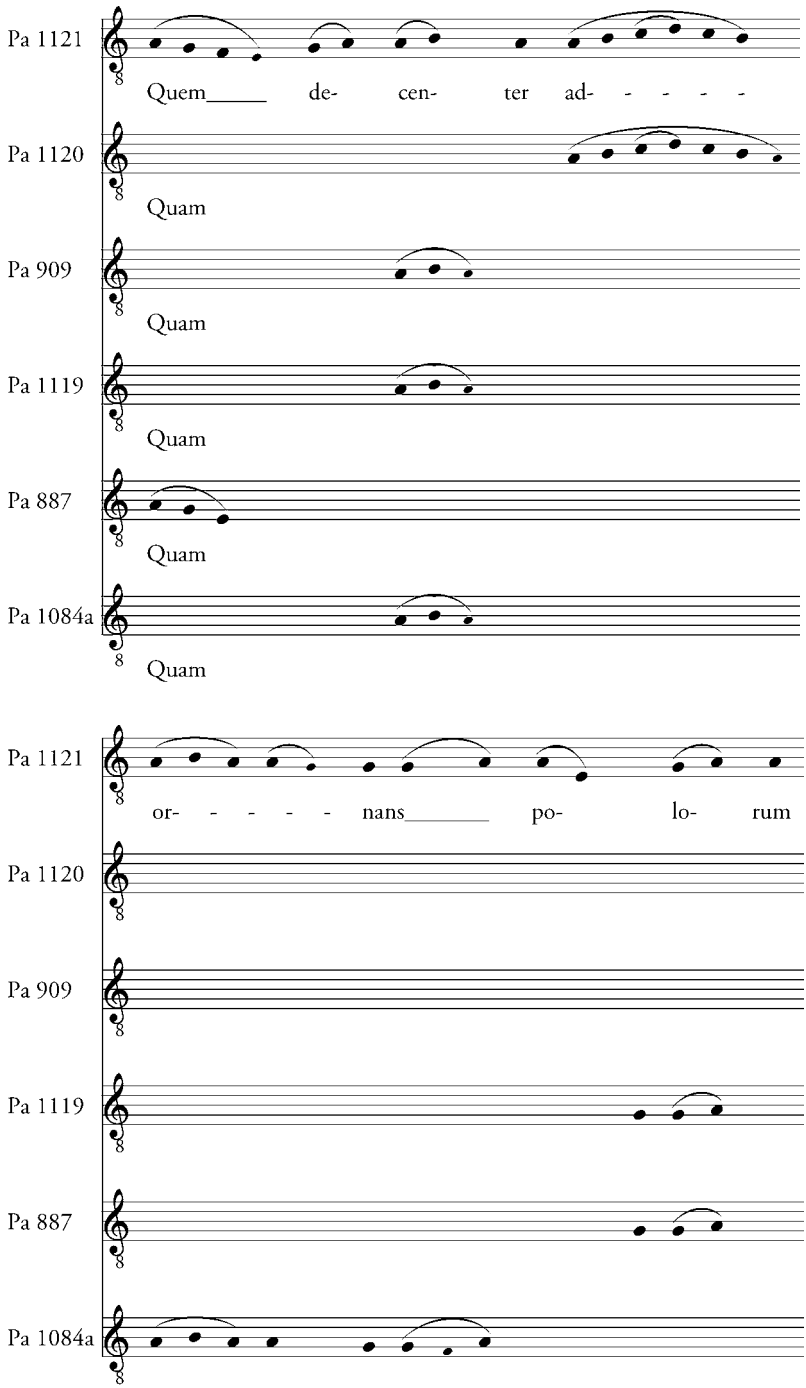
stands alone in its treatment of "adornans." Even Adémar is not consistent, as his versions of "decenter" in Pa 1121 and 909 differ in the application of liquescents.

This variability suggests that each scribe asserted considerable independence in using liquescence, perhaps in accord with his assessment of the needs of declamation. For example, the scribe of Pa 1120 alone supplies a liquescent on the first syllable of "adornans." In Latin, the syllable is usually broken after the vowel, and the consonant attached to the following syllable. But *adornans* is a compound, consisting of the verbal *ornans* and the preposition *ad*. This construction would suggest that the letter *d* should be pronounced at the end of the first syllable, as the word division given in Example 2.1 indicates, and therefore the liquescent could facilitate this articulation. Conversely, the same scribe felt that no such articulation was required for the combination *gn* in the middle of "regna," this time in agreement with Pa 887 and 1084a.

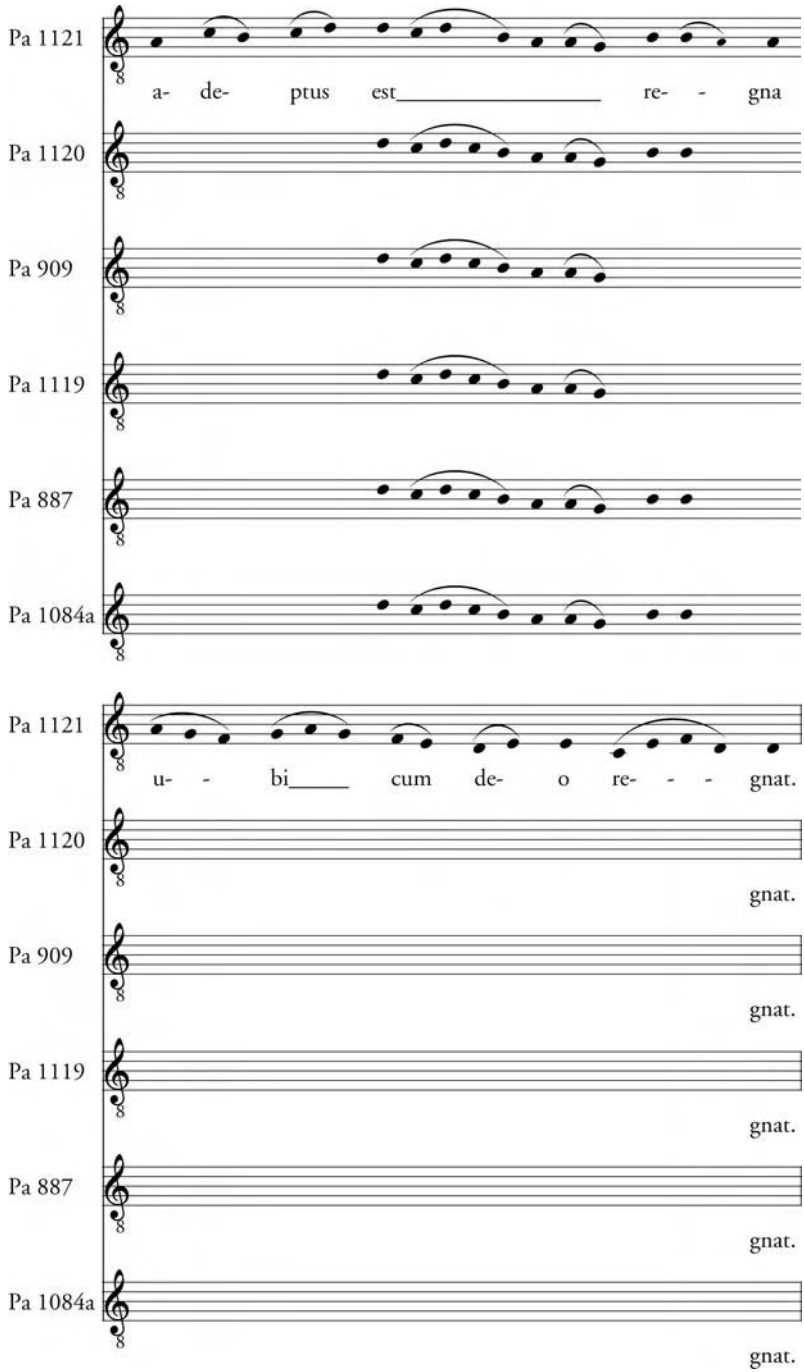
Other variants involve a decorative reiterated note on the second syllable of "polorum" in Pa 1119 and 887, and the apparently accidental omission of a note on "est" in Pa 1121. Otherwise, the Aquitanian manuscripts that transmit this trope element evince remarkable similarity, particularly the four that originated in the scriptorium at Saint Martial. Even where they vary, the differences tend to be minor or accidental (in the case of the setting of "est"), and do not materially change the melodic fabric of the trope. The treatment of liquescence would affect the vocal nuances to be employed in the performance of the passage, but these seem to depend on the habits of declamation practised by the individual scribes, and it is certainly possible that singers would apply their own conventions in performance. The written record answers the scribes' desire for the preservation of melodies and in turn contributes to their stability in transmission.

Perhaps the strongest indication of Adémar's commitment to the written preservation of music and the significance of the written record lies in his inscription of the Office for the Feast of Saint Martial in Pa 909. Virtually all the music in this Office was known to the monks at Saint Martial from earlier manuscripts. Some of it is preserved in an addition to Pa 1240 (fols. 96r-97r), discussed below, and almost all the chants appear, in abbreviated form, in the two Offices in Pa 1085 (Feast, fols. 76v-77r; Octave, fols. 77v-78r). Therefore, the abbey's singers knew this music from memory, and, for the inaugural performance of the new apostolic liturgy on 3 August 1029, would not have needed to learn it from a new source like Pa 909. I deduce, therefore, that Adémar's principal motivation

Example 2.1. Introit trope element *Quam decenter* from trope *Marcialem prae secla*



Example 2.1. (*cont.*)



for the preparation of this copy was to create a permanent written record of the liturgy in its apostolic form for future reference.

This deduction finds further corroboration in the fact that Adémar wrote out the choral parts of these well-known chants, the chorally performed antiphons and the refrains of the responsories, as well as those sections sung by the soloists. Now, I would not care to speculate on how many monks of the choir were musically literate, but several pieces of evidence suggest that Adémar's written versions of these chants were not directed towards them. First, the module of writing is too small to be legible by even three or four singers simultaneously. Second, the accumulated evidence from tenth- and eleventh-century musical sources produced at Saint Martial, and indeed elsewhere in Aquitaine, indicates, as argued above, that they were used primarily, if not exclusively, as reference tools by the cantor and the other solo singers.

In fact, Adémar himself was not only aware but stressed the value of written sources as reference materials. In the letter in which he reported his debate with Benedict of Chiusa as the Mass was about to begin on 3 August 1029, he included the following passage, which requires further comment.

Aimiricus item ad nos intrat cum breuiario uetusto sepulcri, et ostendit ei ueterrima scriptura quoddam responsorium in eodem positum: "Gloriosus est Marcialis apostolus Galliae, qui ita plantauit ecclesiam ut cum ipse multa pertulerit in pace tamen deficiens hanc in pace dimiserit." Ad haec ille: "Et hoc antiquum est non nouum, et qui hunc dictatum composuit, sapiens fuit." Item ostendimus ei annosum rithmum sequentialem in eodem uolumine ueteribus litteris factum: "Ciues coelicolae ut collegam, omnis suum uti apostolum Aquitania."[70]

(Aimiricus likewise came to us with the ancient breviary of the tomb and showed him [Benedict] a certain responsory written in it in the most ancient script: "Glorious is Martial, the apostle of Gaul, who established the church in such a way that, when he himself had accomplished many things, dying in peace, he nevertheless left it in peace." To this he said: "And this is ancient, not new, and whoever composed these words was wise." Then we showed him an ancient sequence in the same book, written in old letters: "The citizens of heaven [worship him] as their colleague, all Aquitaine as their own apostle.")

The responsory is an original composition of Adémar's, and, to the best of my knowledge, occurs only in his autograph in Pa 909 (fol. 68r).[71]

[70] Pa 5288 fol. 53va-vb; Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, cols. 96D-97A.

[71] Edition II.2.3.F. The text is drawn from Adémar's Sermon 3 (using the numbering in Delisle, "Notice," pp. 279–83), Pa 2469 fol. 5r-v.

Therefore, it would appear that Adémar refers to that codex. Yet, it is difficult to see how he could call it a breviary. Even though the Latin word *breuiarium* could carry several meanings, including "epitome" and "summary," the only one that fits the context here is the technical term for Office book.[72] Such a book would include the sung and spoken texts for the Office, such as the lection that would have preceded this responsory, and ordinarily would not contain musical notation, as does Pa 909. A book of this type, contemporary with Adémar, survives from Saint Martial in two volumes, Pa 1253 and 1254.[73]

And the next text cited, *Ciues caelicolae*, would also be unusual to find in a breviary. It is a half-verse (stanza 6b) of *Concelebremus*, a tenth-century prosa for Martial widely circulated in Aquitaine by AD 1000.[74] In books from Saint Martial, such a piece would occur in a proser, a collection of prosae, such as those in Pa 1240 (fols. 17ra-18vb, 46ra-62ra) and 1120 (fols. 106–153). We do, however, know the source for this passage, Pa 1154, the tenth-century miscellany that contains both lyric and liturgical materials.[75] The prosa appears towards the end of the codex (fols. 142vb-143rb) alone among a group of hymns and uersus.[76] Its reading of stanza 6b accords precisely with that given by Adémar, and the prosa is certainly written in a tenth-century hand, which would surely qualify as "old letters" ("ueteribus litteris").[77] Therefore, if Adémar showed Benedict a book at all, it might have been Pa 1154. It does not, however, contain the responsory *Gloriosus est*, and, despite its liturgical content (principally litanies, prayers and collects) it hardly qualifies as a breviary, which ought to contain complete Offices.

[72] The most detailed lexicographical discussion is Prinz, ed., *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "breviarium," 1: cols. 1569–71.

[73] See Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, 3: nos. 525 and 526, pp. 76–78.

[74] Text: *AH* 7: no. 166 pp. 183–84. See Arbellot, *Documents inédits*, pp. 50–53; Duchesne, "Saint-Martial de Limoges," p. 300 n. 3, and pp. 310–12, where he tentatively identifies Pa 1240 as this book; and Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:28.

[75] On Pa 1154, see Spanke, "Rhythmen- und Sequenzenstudien"; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 164; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 73–78 and 123–78; and Barrett, "Music and Writing."

[76] See Handschin, "Über Estampie und Sequenz II," pp. 122–24; and Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 134–35.

[77] Codex Pa 1154 fol. 143ra. The manuscript has an intrusive *s* between "omnis" and "suum": "omnis s suum." Other Aquitanian sources give variant readings: "Collegant" Pa 1120 fol. 127v; "omnes . . . Aquitaniam" Pa 1240 fol. 60rb; "omnes" corrected to "omnis," followed by "adletham," which is erased, and subsequently "uti," written above the line, Pa 1084 fol. 262r; "omnis atletam suum," and then, replacing "apostolum Aquitania," "obsequio castra" Pa 1084 fol. 294r; "omnes" followed by a second "omnes," which is cancelled, and by "adleta suum" Pa 1138 fol. 102v. Among the older manuscripts, Pa 1118 (fol. 214r) gives the closest reading; its original reading "omnes" is corrected to "omnis." Only the younger manuscripts Pa 887 (fol. 129r), Pa 1119 (fol. 195r) and Pa 1137 (fol. 83r-v) give the same reading as Pa 1154.

It is always possible that Pa 909 originally contained a proser, as do its predecessors Pa 1120 and 1121. That proser might have contained *Concelebremus*, but is now lost along with other portions of its first layer, as noted above, and most of the proser that originally formed part of Pa 1121. But the proser that might have formed part of Pa 909 would certainly have contained *Valde lumen* and *Alme deus*, prosae for the feast of Saint Martial that appear in Pa 1120 (fols. 125v-127r and 127v-128v, respectively), yet Adémar copied these out in Pa 909 immediately following the Office for Saint Martial (fols. 75r-77v).[78] Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that *Concelebremus* appeared anywhere in Pa 909. In any case, Pa 909, unlike Pa 1154, could hardly be considered to be "written . . . in the most ancient script."

So, no surviving source contains both pieces; none of the sources that transmit these pieces could be considered a breviary; and only Pa 1154 is old enough to stand witness in the way Adémar describes in this passage. These inconsistencies lead me to conclude that Adémar showed no book to Benedict, a conclusion that accords with the findings of Richard Landes that the debate did not in fact take place.[79] Nevertheless, the very fact that Adémar would recount the episode, even if false, reinforces the importance that he attaches to the written record and imputes to the audience for his letter about the apostolic debate.

The existence of a manuscript like the one he describes in this passage could be taken, Adémar hopes, as compelling testimony in favour of Martial's apostolic status. It is true that the terms *scriptura* and *litterae* in this passage indicate that he is referring to the literary text of these pieces, as opposed to their melodies: for the argument he is presenting, the truth of Martial's apostolicity, the texts constitute crucial evidence while the melodies do not. Yet the rhetorical weight of appealing to a written text as decisive evidence in the debate reveals Adémar's attitude towards writing as a means of preserving and conveying the truth, an attitude that is readily extrapolated to the authoritative inscription of melodies, and thus illuminates Adémar's motivation for recording in Pa 909 melodies perfectly known to the monastery's singers.

As well as using notation for the preservation of known melodies, music scribes at Saint Martial began to employ the technology for the inscription of new compositions at an early date. The following survey of the surviving evidence suggests the pace at which they adopted notation to

[78] Edition III.1.A and B.

[79] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 249–50.

this purpose. Above, in Chapter 1, I note that two additions to the tenth-century manuscript Pa 1240 include pieces that are attested by no earlier witness and form part of the liturgy for Saint Martial. The additions comprise tropes composed specifically for the Feast of Saint Martial (fols. 78v-79r) and a portion of Matins for a Feast of Saint Martial (fols. 96r-97r) whose chants all form part of the complete patronal Offices for Martial in Pa 1085. Therefore, I deduce that these are all original compositions created at Saint Martial. The additions to Pa 1240 suggest that musicians at Saint Martial used notation for the recording of new compositions, but that its adoption for this purpose proceeded somewhat tentatively in the tenth century.

Codices Pa 1120 and 1121 apparently do not contain many original compositions, as noted above, but a group of Proper tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial attests some compositional activity. In the troped Mass for this feast in Pa 1120, which is greatly expanded over that in Pa 1240, four Introit trope complexes emerge as original compositions first recorded here.[80] They have no associations with other saints, such as Martin, and occur in no earlier source from Saint Martial or elsewhere. The scribe of Pa 1121 acknowledged the importance of these new pieces by placing them towards the beginning of the troped Mass for Martial; in particular, *Marcialem prae secla* comes first of all, with an elaborate rubric and even more ornate illumination.[81] Their elevation reflects this scribe's plan to begin the tropes with items written specifically for Martial, and to relegate to the end of the series those also suitable for Saint Martin.[82] The

[80] *Sedibus externis*, *Marcialem prae secla*, *Marcialis dominum*, *Inclita refulget*, Pa 1120 fols. 47v-48r and 49v-50v; see Edition I.3.E, B, C, D, respectively. The expansion was also effected by borrowing tropes from the Feast of Saint Martin, another saint of the same rank, confessor-bishop, and whose cult was widespread in Aquitaine. On the cult of Saint Martin in Limoges, see Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 275–92. On the dual allegiance of the tropes, see Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 31, 63–67; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 57–62; and *idem*, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 237–39. Other tropes new to Saint Martial in Pa 1120 also occur in Pa 1118 and 1084b (the oldest portion of this codex), both of which originated in southern Aquitaine and are at least as old as Pa 1120. Thus, while these tropes may have been composed at Saint Martial, they could hardly have been new compositions when they were included in Pa 1120.

[81] Rubric at the bottom of fol. 28r: "INCIPIVNT TROPHI DE SANCTO AC BEATISSIMO DOMNO NOSTRO MARTIALE PASTORE ET DVCE AQVITANORVM" ("The tropes for the holy and most blessed Martial, our lord, shepherd and leader of the Aquitani, begin"); reproduced at Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," plate 9; see also Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, p. 209; and Weiβ, ed., *MMMA* 3, no. 74 p. 391, who incorrectly emends to "Pastore(m) Et Duce(m)." Illumination fol. 28v, reproduced several times: see Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration*, plate 72; and Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," plate 10.

[82] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 60–61.

new compositions retain this prominent position in Adémar's apostolic version of the Mass in Pa 909.

The scribe of Pa 1120 also introduced new tropes for both Offertory and Communion, while the scribe of Pa 1121 preserves one further original Communion trope.[83] Of these, the Offertory trope complex *Marcialem dominus* assumes first place, in different forms, in Pa 1121, Adémar's apostolic Mass in Pa 909, and Pa 1119.[84] Several of these new compositions were also copied into Pa 1084a and c (the sections of that troper compiled at Saint Martial), where they constitute virtually the entire selection of tropes for this Mass.[85] Therefore, even in the relatively conservative environment in which Pa 1120 was produced, and in the still less adventurous milieu of Pa 1121, new compositions were created for the troped Mass of the abbey's patron saint. And the stature of these new pieces grew as the repertory was copied, first from Pa 1120 into 1121, and then into the more recent portions of Pa 1084. These relationships are summarized in Table 2.1.

The music manuscripts of Adémar de Chabannes provide the largest body of original compositions from Saint Martial in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and show how much more extensively he used musical notation for the inscription of new music than did older musicians at the abbey. These pieces form the object of detailed analysis in Chapter 5 below, and so here I summarize the scope of his contributions. Active in all contemporary genres, Adémar wrote virtually all of his original compositions as part of the campaign to secure Martial's apostolic status. By far the largest number of new pieces in his oeuvre belong to the Divine Office: he composed new Offices for Saints Valérie, Austriclinian (both associates of Martial) and Cybard (patron saint of his home abbey in Angoulême), the last of which survives only in a fragment.

He contributed a small number of items for Martial's Office, limited, on the one hand, by an existing patronal Office that largely consisted of items specially composed for it in a previous generation, and, on the

[83] Pa 1120 fol. 50v-51v. Offertory: the introductory trope element *Sancte Marciali* and the trope complex *Marcialem dominus*. Communion: *O sacer gloriose*. Pa 1121 fol. 32v. The trope is *Vltima uenturae*. See Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 158 p. 221; also Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 55.

[84] Pa 1121 fol. 32r; see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 155 p. 220. Pa 909 fol. 46r; see Edition I.3. P. Pa 1119 fol. 61r-v.

[85] All four Introit trope complexes, the Offertory trope complex *Marcialem dominus* and the Communion tropes *O sacer gloriose* and the first element of *Vltima uenturae* occur at Pa 1084a fols. 47v-48v; in addition, *Sedibus externis*, *Marcialem prae secla* and *Marcialis dominum* also appear at Pa 1084c fols. 151v-152r. On the adaptation of this troper for use at Saint Martial, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 72.

Table 2.1. *New compositions for the troped Mass for Saint Martial in Pa 1120 and 1121*

Trope	Pa 1120	Pa 1121	Pa 909	Pa 1119	Pa 1084a/c
Introit					
Sedibus externis	fols. 47v-48r	fols. 29v-30r	fol. 43v	fol. 57r	fol. 47v fols. 151v-152r
Marcialem prae secla	fols. 49v-50r end of series	fols. 28v-29r first in series	fols. 42v-43r	fol. 55r-v	fol. 48r fol. 152r
Marcialis dominum	fol. 50r end of series	fol. 30r	fol. 43r	fols. 55v-56r	fol. 48r fol. 152r
Inclita refulget	fol. 50r-v end of series	fol. 30r-v	fol. 43r-v	fol. 56r-v	fol. 48r-v
Offertory					
Sancte Marciali	fols. 50v-51r	absent	absent	absent	absent
Marcialem dominus	fol. 51r	fol. 32r only trope	fol. 46r first in series	fol. 61r-v only trope	fol. 48v only trope
Communion					
O sacer gloriose	fol. 51v	absent	absent	absent	fol. 48v
Vltima uenturae	absent	fol. 32v	absent	absent	fol. 48v

other, by the necessity of appearing to preserve tradition. The Mass for the saint's feast, conversely, contains a larger number of new pieces: all five Proper items, tropes for three Proper items (Introit, Offertory and Communion), a trope for the Gloria, introductory tropes for the sequences, and two sequences.

The genre for which Adémar reserved his greatest affection may have been the sequence. His first surviving compositions belong to this genre. A group of five sequences for variable and dominical assignment occurs in the fragment of the proser in Pa 1121 (where the text is written by another hand) and the sequentiary in the same codex.[86] This sequentiary also contains, in its main section, one further sequence for the fourth Sunday of Advent, and, in its appendix, a sequence for the second Sunday of Advent and another for Saint John the Evangelist, all of which seem to be compositions of Adémar's.[87] Finally, he contributed two new sequences for Martial, both of which appear in Pa 909 in texted and untexted form.[88]

In Adémar's hands, the technology of musical notation becomes a powerful tool for the inscription of both existing and newly composed pieces. His copy of the Office liturgy for the Feast of Saint Martial, comprised almost entirely of items borrowed from the existing patronal, episcopal liturgy, constitutes a reference copy for the preservation of Adémar's apostolic adaptation of it. His inclusion of the full texts and music of those items normally sung by the choir reinforces this view. Meanwhile, the written record of his original compositions lends them an authority, not to mention a permanence, they would lack if they remained unwritten. Furthermore, his use of accurate heighting facilitates the task of teaching new music to the singers. This must have become an extremely important consideration as Adémar struggled to prepare the performers for the liturgy's inauguration on 3 August 1029.

ADÉMAR'S MUSICAL NOTATION

Adémar's musical notation represents an important station in the ongoing development of this technology in Aquitaine and at the scriptorium of

[86] *Mente pura*, *Per secula*, *Alte uox canat*, *Corde deuoto* and *Coaequalis*. Pa 1121 fols. 68r-69r (sequentiary) and 197r-200v (proser). See Edition IXA.24.D, F and G; 25.C and G.

[87] *Alme Christe*, *Letatus sum* and *Hodierna*, respectively. Pa 1121 fols. 58v, 70r and 70v, respectively. See Edition IXA.4.B, IXB.2.A and 5.A.

[88] *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa*. Pa 909 fols. 118r-v (untexted) and 198r-201v (texted). See Edition III.1.C and D, and IXA.17.A and B.

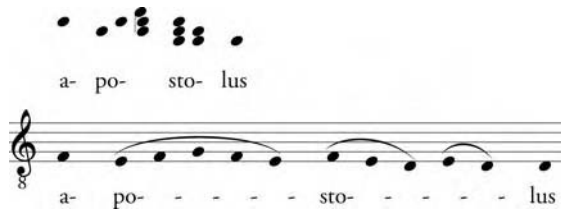
Saint Martial. Its central characteristic, and Adémar's most important contribution to the advancement of notation, is the use of accurate heighting and the *custos* to depict relative pitch relationships, as discussed above. But Adémar's notation exhibits many other features that materially refine our understanding of Aquitanian notation, its meaning and function. Like other Aquitanian scribes of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Adémar bases his notation on the *punctum*. With two exceptions, to be treated below, all other symbols occur in composite neumes that begin with one or more *puncta*. Thus, all other symbols derive their semiotic meaning from their relationship with a preceding *punctum* or *puncta*.

The two exceptions are the customary signs for liquescence, the *cephalicus* and *epiphonus* (representing downwards and upwards motion, respectively), and the *virga* when used alone in syllabic textures. The two liquescent neumes are palaeographically unrelated to the *punctum*. The *cephalicus* most closely resembles a *virga* to which is added an *apostropha*, whose length indicates the relative pitch content of the neume. The *epiphonus* consists of a dot, usually smaller than a *punctum*, above a curving line. The right end of the curving line ascends to show the relative pitch of the liquescent note.[89] Both liquescents are used to depict intervals of up to a fifth. The application of liquescence, as suggested above in the discussion of stability in the Aquitanian written tradition, seems to depend on the practice of the individual scribe in matters of pronunciation and text declamation. I defer a discussion of Adémar's habits to a more general consideration of the meaning and function of liquescents below.

The *virga* appears alone, without a preceding *punctum*, in predominantly syllabic textures, such as the prosa. In such contexts, it carries two meanings. Most commonly, it signifies the end of a melodic ascent, just as it does in melismatic contexts when it is preceded by a *punctum* or *puncta*. Thus, it reinforces the visual information conveyed by the accurate heighting Adémar uses to remind the singer that the melody has reached a melodic peak and will subsequently descend. Occasionally, the isolated *virga* is followed by a higher note. In these instances, the *virga* always appears on either a monosyllable or the last syllable of a word. The precise meaning of the neume is not as clear here, but it may be related to the appearance of a *virga* at this position in an untexted, melismatic setting of the melody. The neumations of a melody in texted and untexted forms relate in a complex way and will be considered in more detail below.

[89] For illustrations of these neumes drawn from Pa 903, see *PalMus* 13:158–59; and Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxvb.

Example 2.2. Examples of grouping, responsory *Beatissimus apostolus* Pa 909 fol. 66r lines 7–8



GROUPING AND LIGATION

In melismatic textures, Aquitanian scribes group *puncta*, *uirgae*, other special neumes and a small number of ligatures to depict the relationship between text and music. In ascending lines, the neumes rise obliquely to the right; descending motion is represented by vertically aligned neumes. A *virga* marks the last note of an ascent; this neume, if followed by a note on the same pitch or higher, also signifies the end of the melisma. When the melisma ends with descending motion, the following note is written to the right of the final note of the melisma. By combining these simple principles, Aquitanian scribes created complex melismata while simultaneously rendering a clear representation of which notes were to be sung with each syllable of text. (See Example 2.2.)[90]

Special neumes, such as the *oriscus*, *quilisma* and *pes stratus*, are always preceded by one or more *puncta*, and so they participate in the basic principles of grouping sketched above. The same is true of the two ligatures widely used in Aquitanian notation, the *cliuis* and *porrectus*. The *cliuis* consists of a *virga* ligated to a *punctum* and denotes downwards motion. The *porrectus* extends this ligature by one note by ligating an additional *virga* to the end of the *cliuis*. It signifies three notes of which the middle one is lower than the first and last, which can either agree or differ in pitch. A *cliuis* encompasses melodic motion up to a fifth, while typically the *porrectus* is restricted to motion of a second or third (major or minor in either case).

Both these ligatures provide graphic options for the scribe, who sometimes writes out the melodic gestures that correspond to the ligatures

[90] In this and the following example (Examples 2.2 and 2.3), the stemless note head represents the *punctum*, the quarter note with stem down the *virga*, and the mordent the *oriscus*.

in disjunct neumes. For example, the *torculus* (the three-note neume in which the middle note is higher than the first and last notes) occurs as *punctum–virga–punctum*, and equally often as *punctum–cliuis*; the *cliuis* functions as a ligated alternative for the disjunct combination *virga–punctum*. The two neumations do not differ in the least substantively between each other, and the choice seems to belong exclusively to the scribe. Adémar uses ligated and disjunct equivalents in roughly the same proportion and without apparent regard to the context.

SPECIAL NEUMES: *QUILISMA*, INVERTED *VIRGA*, *ORISCUS*, *PES STRATUS*, *TRISTROPHA*

The most detailed study of Aquitanian notation to date, the Introduction to the photographic facsimile of Pa 903 in volume 13 of Paléographie Musicale, observes that several neumes, including the first two named here, the *quilisma* and the inverted *virga*, consistently occur in that manuscript in specific intervallic contexts.[91] The inverted *virga* ends a *pes* that rises by a semitone; the *quilisma* spans an ascending minor third that moves first by tone and then by semitone. The Introduction further points out that these neumes did not carry such specific intervallic content consistently in other Aquitanian manuscripts.[92] In fact, Adémar does not reserve the *quilisma* for any particular combinations of intervals, although there are hints that he applies some restrictions to the intervallic content of neumes that contain the inverted *virga*.

In Adémar's usage, the *quilisma* contains two notes that ascend by a minor or major second and are preceded by one or more *puncta*. The last *punctum* before the *quilisma* is always lower than the first note of the *quilisma*, most often by a second (major or minor) and sometimes by a third (major or minor). Certain intervallic combinations are impossible in the medieval tonal system, such as minor third plus minor second, which would generate a diminished fourth, or minor second plus minor second, which forms a diminished third. Thus, Adémar's *quilisma* compasses a range of intervallic content: the entire complex of three notes (the preceding *punctum* plus the *quilisma*) spans an ascending interval between a minor third and a perfect fourth in size, while the two notes of the

[91] Overview: *PalMus* 13:139; and Fischer, "Paris Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 903," pp. 108–9. More detailed consideration of the inverted *virga*: *PalMus* 13:169, 172–73 (see also Fischer, "I neumi," pp. xxvb–xxvia); of the *quilisma*: *PalMus* 13:175–76.

[92] *PalMus* 13:165.

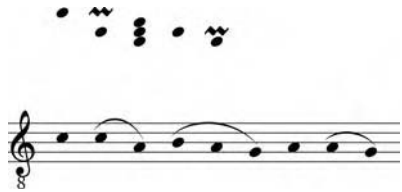
quilisma itself are separated by either a major or minor second. In this regard, Adémar preserves the sense of the *quilisma* as an ornamental neume irrespective of intervallic content, as it was understood by contemporary music theorists, rather than as a neume that designates specific intervals, as the scribe of Pa 903 used it.[93]

The inverted *virga*, however, may retain some intervallic meaning in Adémar's usage. It always occurs in the two-note *pes*. Longer groups invariably include the standard *virga*, which resembles the shepherd's crook whence it derives its name. The *pes* also sometimes includes the standard *virga*, and so the inverted *virga*, like the ligated *cliuis* and *porrectus*, functions as a graphic alternative. In Adémar's notation, the *pes* with inverted *virga* most often signifies a rising major second, in distinction to its use in Pa 903, where it consistently depicts the rising minor second. Adémar is not as consistent as the scribe of Pa 903, however, because he uses the inverted *virga* occasionally in *pedes* that rise through a minor third, and, rarer still, through a minor second. Therefore, his tendency to use this neume for the major second does not prevent its appearance in other intervallic contexts.

The other three special neumes all signify the occurrence of notes at the unison. They all occur with the same meaning in other Aquitanian music manuscripts, but Adémar's usage illuminates aspects of their contextual significance. The *oriscus* conventionally indicates the reiteration of the same pitch without changing syllable in the text. Adémar uses the symbol frequently in contexts where several notes of the same pitch occur in close proximity, but not all are consecutive in execution. Such a situation arises because of the Aquitanian convention of depicting descending melodic motion by the vertical alignment of *puncta*. (See Example 2.3.) Example 2.3 shows four notes at the same pitch next to one another, but because of the use of vertical space for the presentation of descending motion, only one pair of these notes sounds consecutively, the final two, of which the second is represented by the *oriscus*. So, Adémar employs

[93] Aurelian of Réôme, Hucbald of Saint Amand, Guido d'Arezzo and Adémar himself speak of a "tremulous" note. Aurelian, *Musica disciplina* 10.31, 13.15 and .25, and [12.15], ed. Gushee, pp. 89, 97, 98 and 143, respectively. Hucbald, *Musica* 46, ed. Chartier, p. 196. Guido, *Prologus in Antiphonarium* 76, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 81; *idem*, *Micrologus* 15.10, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 164. In the late eleventh century, this last passage receives two glosses in which the "tremulous" note is identified as the *quilisma*: Aribo, *De musica*, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 66; repeated at *Commentarius anonymus in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini*, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 153. See also Huglo, "Les noms des neumes," pp. 65–66; and McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, pp. 53–55 and 73–78. Adémar, *Chronicon* 2.8, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 89; see also Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," p. 54.

Example 2.3. Examples of descending motion with the *oriscus*
Offertory *Diligo* verse *Designatus* Pa 909 fol. 71v line 4



this neume to provide a visual distinction between adjacent but non-consecutive notes of the same pitch, and notes of the same pitch that are to be executed consecutively.

In untexted, melismatic contexts, the *oriscus* designates consecutive notes at the same pitch as part of the same neumatic grouping. Such notes can neither be ligated nor grouped through the usual Aquitanian conventions of vertical stacking (for descending notes) or rising obliquely (for ascending motion) because, naturally, they lie at the same height. Therefore, Adémar employs the *oriscus* to link consecutive notes at the unison within a single group. (The same problem vexes the rhythmic notation of polyphonic music of the Notre Dame school, incidentally, which depends upon ligature shapes to indicate the rhythmic mode that is in effect; consecutive notes at the unison cannot be ligated.) Adémar uses two graphic forms of the *oriscus*. The most common resembles a minuscule *m*, although the *ductus* of the neume differs from that of the letter. The latter consists of three downward strokes, called minims in palaeographic parlance, while the *oriscus* begins with an upwards stroke that curves to the right and back down before being repeated. The other, rarer form of the neume in Adémar's hand is similar to the minuscule *n*; in this case, however, the resemblance includes the *ductus*, as both symbols consist of two downward strokes.

The *pes stratus* also signifies the reiteration of the same pitch on the same syllable. Resembling a cursive form of the letter *u*, it is always preceded by one or more *puncta*, consistently approaching it from below.[94] In this context, it is most familiar from its conventional use at the cadences of sequentiae where it represents the repeated cadential pitch. Adémar, however, uses the neume in a variety of contexts, including virtually all melismatic chant genres, and not always at points of cadence.

[94] Fischer, "I neumi," p. xxxb.

Moreover, the grouping of which the *pes stratus* forms a part presents a variety of intervallic content. Most often, the immediately preceding melodic interval is the ascending major second, in keeping with its occurrence at the cadence points of sequentiae (the formulae C–D–D and F–G–G being the most common). Occasionally, however, the *pes stratus* is preceded by the minor second, and sometimes by wider intervals such as the minor third.

In this regard, the *pes stratus*, in Adémar's usage, may represent something more than just two consecutive notes at the unison. Otherwise, he could just as easily have rendered them as two *puncta*, or a *punctum* followed by an *oriscus*. I suspect that this neume indicates some kind of ornamental treatment of the two notes that differs from what is indicated by the *oriscus*. Is it possible that the two notes of the *pes stratus* are marked in performance by some kind of fluctuation in the pitch between them, conceivably by a lowering of the pitch in imitation of the neume's graphic shape, between the end of the first note and the beginning of the second? Such a marking of the second note would be unnecessary in a texted rendering of the same phrase because each note of the *pes stratus* would receive a separate syllable, and so Aquitanian scribes, including Adémar, translate the *pes stratus* of an untexted setting into two *puncta* for a texted version.

The final special neume, the *tristropha*, represents three consecutive notes at the same pitch on the same syllable. Most Aquitanian scribes of the eleventh century render this neume simply by inscribing three *puncta*. In two places, however, both in the version of the responsory *Percepit itaque* from the Office for Saint Martial that Adémar copied into Pa 1978 (fol. 103r-v), he uses the form of the *tristropha* that occurs in the earlier manuscripts Albi 44 and Pa 1240.[95] This neume resembles the minuscule *b*, but it does not appear to represent the *littera significatiua*, as defined in Notker's epistle.[96]

B. Secundum litteras quibus adiungitur, ut bene id est multum extollatur uel grauetur siue teneatur belgicat.

(B. according to the letters to which it is attached, *belgicat* that the note rises or falls or is held well, that is, a great deal.)[97]

[95] Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," p. 199 and n. 26; see also Colette, "Le graduel-antiphonaire," p. 128.
[96] As suggested by Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," p. 199; and *Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale Rochegude, Manuscript 44*, pp. lxiv–lxv.
[97] Latin: Froger, "L'épitre de Notker," p. 69 (see also *ibid.*, pp. 34–35, 46). English: my translation. Printed in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, pp. 180 (Latin after Froger) and 32 (English

Whatever the verb *belgico* means, it is clear that *b* as a *littera significatiua* is only used to modify another *littera*. So, the combination *bi* (or *ib*), for example, would mean "lower the note a great deal," as opposed to *i* by itself, which would mean simply "lower the note"; and the letter *b* would never appear alone. In both instances where Adémar uses the letter *b* to signify the *tristropha*, no other *littera significatiua* appears, and so the letter is the neume, and not a *littera significatiua*. Adémar does, however, use a small number of Notker's *litterae significatiuae*, all for the increased precision of pitch indications, as mentioned above: the letter *e*, *equaliter* or unison, used as a *custos* at the end of a line of writing; and the letters *alt* (*altius*, higher) and *io* (*iusum*, lower) to confirm wide leaps that are accurately heighted.

LIQUESCENCE

As we have seen above, liquescence functions as a performing nuance that aids in the declamation of complex combinations of letters: double consonants and other combinations of consonants, and diphthongs.[98] As in other features of Aquitanian notation, many of the details of the application of liquescence fall to the discretion of the music scribe to determine. Scribes are not consistent in their use of liquescence (see Example 2.1, above), not even within the same scriptorium (that of Saint Martial, for example), or even when the same scribe has provided two neumations for the same melody (Adémar, in Pa 1121 and 909). I would suggest that music scribes, at least in the scriptorium of Saint Martial, habitually sang or otherwise imagined the melodies they were inscribing as they worked, and applied liquescence in accord with their aural perception of the melody and personal habits of declamation.

Adémar's neumations provide us with interesting examples of his understanding of textual declamation and the employment of liquescence. He rarely places a liquescent on a final syllable that ends in a single consonant, even when it precedes a word beginning with a consonant. There are two exceptions to this tendency: polysyllables that end in *m*

translation by Randall A. Rosenfeld). Rosenfeld translates "belgicat" as "signifies," after Prinz, ed., *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "belgico," 1: col. 1409.

[98] On liquescence in general, see [A. Mocquereau], "Neumes-accents liquescents ou semi-vocaux," in *PalMus* 2:37–86 (for Mocquereau's authorship, see *PalMus* 10:213); Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten*; Göschl, *Semiologische Untersuchungen*; Fischer, "Epiphonus oder Cephalicus?" Agustoni and Göschl, *Einführung in die Interpretation*, 2 pt. 2:481–551; Haug, "Zur Interpretation der Liqueszenzneumen"; Betteray, "Die Liqueszenz"; Bielitz, *Zum Bezeichneten der Neumen*; and McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, pp. 46–50.

(e.g., "regem") and monosyllables such as the conjunction *et*, prepositions *ad* and *in*, and relative pronouns *quam* and *quem*. On the other hand, final syllables that end with a combination of consonants (e.g., "procedens") do sometimes receive a liquescent neume. Similarly, Adémar tends not to liquesce diphthongs in the final syllable. Of course, the most commonly met diphthong in such a position is the combination *ae*, which is conventionally written by other Aquitanian scribes as *e*. It therefore may have been pronounced, even by Adémar despite the fact that he habitually writes it as *ae*, as a single vowel sound, which, consequently, would not require a liquescent neume for declamation.

Adémar's treatment of the letter *i* also merits investigation. This letter functions in Latin as either vowel or consonant, and, for the latter, some modern editors rather quaintly use the modern letter *j*, despite the fact that this letter was unknown to the Romans, and medieval scribes such as Adémar consistently use the same graphic symbol (the letter *i*) for both functions.[99] In some contexts, however, Adémar combines what is usually taken as consonantal *i* with a preceding vowel and assigns a liquescent, thereby indicating that, first, he understands the *i* as a vowel and second, he pronounces the coupled vowels as a diphthong. Examples are the personal pronoun *eius*, and *alleluia*, which he consistently syllabifies as *al-le-lui-a*, and so graphically demonstrates the presence of the diphthong *ui* in this context.[100]

Adémar also places liquescents in contexts that seem difficult to explain. A liquescent occasionally occurs on an internal syllable that precedes a single consonant. As mentioned above, the syllable break is usually placed before the consonant in Latin, and so the single consonant in such a context would normally belong to the next syllable. Two instances in which Adémar has applied a liquescent in such a context suggest that the nature of the following consonant may have affected his choice: the first syllables of "regem" and "misericordiae." In each case, the vowel is followed by a soft consonant, the soft *g* of "regem" and the sibilant *s* in "misericordiae." Is it possible that Adémar added the liquescent to facilitate the passage from the preceding vowel into the soft consonant that follows? Adémar also places a liquescent on the final syllable of *alleluia*,

[99] École nationale des chartes, *Conseils pour l'édition*, 1: *Conseils généraux*, 23–24.

[100] His usage here stands in marked contrast to that of the text scribes of Pa 1121 and the first layer of Pa 909, who, in their respective libelli of Alleluias (Pa 1121 fols. 210–217 and 180–186, Pa 909 fols. 190–197, 174–189 and 166r-167r), consistently syllabify *al-le-lu-ia*.

where there would appear to be no need for one for purposes of declamation. Such a liquescent may represent a purely ornamental gesture.

Finally, Adémar unequivocally assigns definite pitch to both notes of a liquescent neume and, in so doing, may clarify Guido d'Arezzo's description of liquescence. The music theorist indicates that a liquescent is executed with a sliding pitch: "inceptus modus unius ad alteram limpide transiens nec finiri videatur" ("the manner of the one, when it begins, crosses clearly to the other, nor does it seem to end").[101] He distinguishes this manner of execution from an alternative that is fuller ("plenius") and not liquefying ("non liquefaciens").[102] Guido's language is far from precise, but the subject of all three verbals, "inceptus," "transiens" and "videatur" is the "manner [of execution] of the first [sound]" ("modus unius"), and so he seems to be describing a glissando between the first and second notes of a liquescent as the normal means of execution.[103] Thus, the first note "does not seem to end" ("nec finiri videatur"). Adémar's notation provides two striking clarifications of Guido's statement.

First, both the *cephalicus* and *epiphonus*, the usual signs for liquescence, indicate different intervals by the length of their strokes. These strokes indicate the length of the slide from the first note, which "does not seem to end," to the fixed pitch of the second note. The second clarification is more telling, and shows that the slide ends at the second note. Adémar places the significative letter *e* (*equaliter*, "unison") at the end of a line whose last neume is a liquescent, always aligned with the end of the liquescent stroke. Thus, he indicates that the *littera significatiua* relates to the second note of the liquescent, which lies at the same pitch as the first note of the next line. If the liquescent note continues to slide into that next pitch, it could hardly be in unison with it.

Adémar's application of liquescence reveals an idiosyncratic practice that originated in his own habits of pronunciation and declamation. In some regards, particularly in his treatment of the letter *i* in *alleluia*,

[101] Guido, *Micrologus* 15.57, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, pp. 175–76; my translation. For other translations, see Babb, trans., *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, ed. Palisca, p. 72; and McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, p. 46 (trans. Rosenfeld). For commentary, see *Metrologus*, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, pp. 89–90 (translated and discussed in McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, pp. 46–49; also discussed in Bielitz, *Zum Bezeichneten der Neumen*, pp. 111–15). On the passage in Guido, see also Pothier, "La note liquescente"; Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten*, pp. 42–47; and Bielitz, *Zum Bezeichneten der Neumen*, pp. 96–101.

[102] Guido, *Micrologus* 15.60, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, p. 177. See also Babb, trans., *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, ed. Palisca, p. 73; and McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, p. 46 (trans. Rosenfeld).

[103] And not from the first through the second and on to the note that follows the liquescent, as McGee takes it, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, p. 46.

his usage seems to break with convention. I would suggest that the individuality of his practice is consistent with that of other Aquitanian scribes, who also create neumations that accord with their own proclivities in text delivery. Liquescence appears to be a highly individual phenomenon. Furthermore, from the context in which liquescent neumes occur, Adémar assigns to them definite pitch content, and thereby clarifies the imprecise description of liquescence by his immediate contemporary, Guido d'Arezzo.

THE NOTATION OF SEQUENTIAE

The neumation of sequences presents an interesting problem because they occur in texted and untexted forms. The former normally exhibit a syllabic treatment of the text, and so virtually all notes are represented by *puncta* with, consequently, few opportunities for ligation or grouping, except for those infrequent syllables that do receive short melismata. As mentioned above, a few isolated *uirgae* occur in these syllabic textures, marking the end of a melodic ascent or the end of a word. Untexted sequences, or sequentiae, have, naturally enough, no text to guide the application of grouping, and so the disposition of the neumes remains entirely at the discretion of the scribe. There does, however, seem to be an external determining factor in Adémar's neumations of the sequentiae, common to the sequentiaries of both Pa 1121 and 909, and that is the text of the corresponding prosa: groupings in the neumations of a sequentia tend to correspond to the word divisions in the prosa that shares the melody.[104]

Before passing to some illustrations, we should note two difficulties that make this comment tentative. First, virtually all of the sequences copied by Adémar in Pa 1121 and 909, texted or untexted, employ the double cursus, in which each phrase of the melody is repeated in succession. Prosae use different text for each repetition of the melodic phrase, and so word division often varies between the two half-verses that are sung to the same music. Consequently, the neumations of the corresponding sequentiae might reflect word division in one of the half-verses more than the other. Second, some sequence melodies were used for more than one text, again with variation in the word division. Therefore, it is possible that

[104] For a discussion of this problem from a compositional rather than a scribal point of view, see Steiner, "The Prosulae," pp. 384–87; Schlager, "Die Neumenschrift"; and Björkvall and Haug, "Sequence and Versus," pp. 58–59.

some correspondences between neume groupings in the sequentiae and word division in the prosae are coincidental and not the result of the scribe's planning the neumation to reflect the word division of a particular text.

Adémar's neumations, however, suggest that word division in the prosae provided not a universal but an underlying principle for his renderings of the sequence melodies in their untexted form. I choose, as a first source for illustration, the sequence *Apostolorum gloriosa*, which occurs in Adémar's hand in both texted and untexted forms, and which I take to be an original composition of his.[105] If this piece is original, Adémar clearly would have had no visual model on which to base the grouping in his neumation of the sequentia. Like most of Adémar's sequence compositions, *Apostolorum gloriosa* begins with an incipit borrowed from an Alleluia melody, and this circumstance allows us to start our investigation of Adémar's neumations by comparing that of the Alleluia melody with the untexted and texted versions of the sequence.[106] (See Example 2.4.)

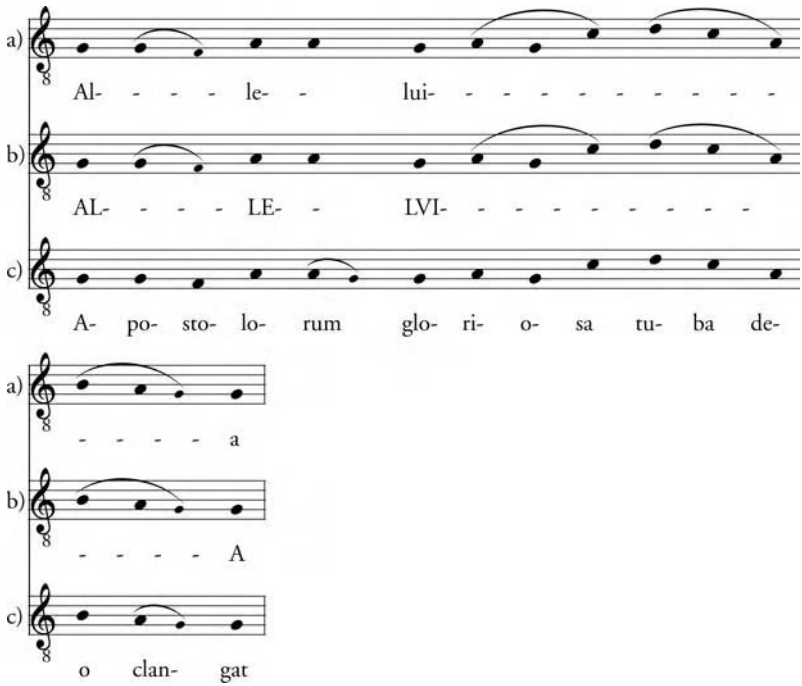
First, the neumation of the untexted sequence (line b in Example 2.4) matches that of the Alleluia melody (line a) exactly. Since Adémar is the music scribe in both cases, we are perhaps not surprised, although the identical nature of the neumations serves to reinforce the connection between the two forms.[107] Second, and more interesting, however, is the correspondence between the notational details of the Alleluia melody and the texted version of the sequence (line c). To the liquescent note that aids in the pronunciation of the double *l* in "Alleluia," Adémar assigns a discrete syllable. This may be taken as a further indication that Adémar considered liquescent notes to represent a fixed pitch, as discussed above. And the other liquescent in the Alleluia melody, for the diphthong *ui*, finds a corresponding liquescent in the prosa on the first syllable of "clangat." The additional liquescent in the prosa, on the final syllable of "Apostolorum," has no equivalent in the Alleluia melody, and is present simply to facilitate the pronunciation of the final *m* of the word before the combination *gl* with which the next word, "gloriosa," begins.

[105] Texted: Pa 909 fols. 199v-201v. Untexted: Pa 909 fol. 118r-v. See Edition III.1.D and IXA.17.B, respectively.

[106] *Alleluia* ℣ *Venite ad me* occurs in both Pa 909 fol. 180v and Pa 1121 fols. 180v-181r with music in Adémar's hand; see Edition App.C.20; see also *MMMA* 7:525–26, and Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 357, pp. 229–30.

[107] On the relationship between Alleluia and sequence, see Husmann, "Alleluia, Vers und Sequenz"; and Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 392–409.

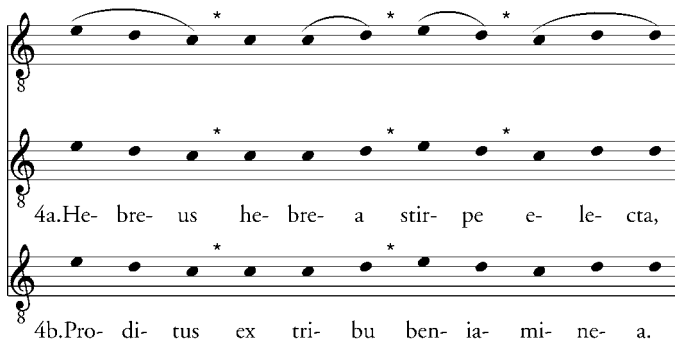
Example 2.4. (a) *Alleluia* with verse *Venite ad me*
(b) sequentia *Apostolorum gloriosa*
(c) prosa *Apostolorum gloriosa*



While it is always possible that these first two correspondences may be coincidental, the fact that both liquescents in the Alleluia melody receive special treatment in the prosa suggests that Adémar was conscious of making a connection. This interpretation might be reinforced by his treatment of word division in the text of the prosa. Word breaks after "Apostolorum" and "gloriosa" correspond with, in the first instance, the break between the second and third syllables of "Alleluia," and, in the second, the first group of neumes on the third syllable of "Alleluia." This conformity does not persist, however, as the words "tuba deo" cross the neume groups. The pattern that emerges here is confirmed in that part of the melody that Adémar composed (as opposed to the incipit borrowed from the Alleluia melody, which he did not compose), where most, but not all, word divisions in the prosa correspond with neume groups in the sequentia.

In some stanzas of *Apostolorum gloriosa*, Adémar creates a complete identity between untexted neume groups and word division. (See

Example 2.5. Sequence *Apostolorum gloriosa* stanza 4



Example 2.5.) Example 2.5 shows stanza 4 of the sequence, in both texted and untexted forms. Asterisks mark the points at which neume groups in the latter coincide with word divisions in the former. In stanza 4a, these correspond precisely, with the single note C joining the *pes* C–D for the setting of the trisyllabic "hebrea." The neumation of the sequentia confirms the link in that Adémar writes the C of the *pes* as an *oriscus*, suggesting that the three notes C–C–D form a neumatic unit. Stanza 4b interprets this figure somewhat differently, by setting the prepositional phrase "ex tribu" to it; because of the close grammatical unit that this phrase constitutes, it does not fundamentally contradict the principle. So, too, the last word of stanza 4b, "beniaminea," occupies the final two neume groups, and, although it does not literally reconfirm the principle, it also does not oppose it.

Stanza 2 of the same sequence presents a more typical example of how Adémar treated the relationship between text and neume groups. (See Example 2.6.) While neither half-stanza exhibits the kind of identity that stanza 4a does, there remain a large number of correspondences in both segments of the text. More illustrative of Adémar's practice, however, is the way in which he creates larger units of either text or neume groups. For example, at the beginning of stanza 2a, he sets the three-note neume in the sequentia to the text "Nos quoque," thus combining two words for the neumatic group, as he does with the phrase "ex tribu" in stanza 4b, which I note above. Likewise, Adémar sets two bisyllables in stanza 2b, "unde ouant," to the four-note neume that begins the second musical phrase of the stanza. Elsewhere, Adémar combines neume groups to accommodate longer phrases of text, most notably midway through the

Example 2.6. Sequence *Apostolorum gloriosa* stanza 2

2a.Nos quo- que or- ga- na re- so- ne- mus lae- ta uo- ce

2b.Mar- ci- a- lis in- stant qui- a a- po- sto- li nunc sol-

con- so- na lau- de cum an- ge- li- ca dan- tes prae-

lem- pni- a un- de o- uant in- fi- ma si- mul- que

co- ni- a,

su- pre- ma.

first musical phrase on the two three-note descending neumes, E–D–C and B–A–G. In both half-stanzas, these two neumes set six-syllable units of text ("resonemus laeta" and "quia apostoli") whose word divisions do not correspond to the break between the two neumes.

These examples suggest that Adémar took the word divisions of the prosa as a point of departure for the groupings he imposed on the

untexted neumations. The end of every group does not correspond to a word division nor does the end of each word coincide with a break in the neumatic grouping, but these correspondences are frequent enough to suggest that they are more than just incidental. Moreover, when more than one neumatic grouping is linked for the setting of two words, Adémar never overlaps more than one group. For example, in the first musical phrase of the stanza, Adémar divides the text of stanza 2b into three units consisting of six, six and five syllables, respectively. Each unit comprises two words and two neumatic groups, and the end of each unit corresponds with the end of a neumatic grouping. Similarly, the second musical phrase, when set to the text of stanza 2a, contains two units of seven and six syllables, respectively, that bridge two neumatic groupings. Again, the division between the two units coincides with the end of a neume group. The correspondence in each case is not precise, but it does reveal, I believe, an underlying principle.

Adémar's application of this principle emerges more sharply through a comparison of neumations for a sequence not of his composition that occurs in manuscripts written by other music scribes. *Valde lumen* is one of the most widely attested sequences for Saint Martial. It shares a melody with the sequence *Quem superne* for Saint Benedict, and so may not be an original composition for Martial's feast.[108] The proser of Pa 1120 is the earliest source from Saint Martial that attests it, and both texted and untexted forms occur in Adémar's musical autographs.[109] For comparison, I adduce Pa 887, an enigmatic manuscript of approximately the same age as Adémar's Pa 1121 and 909, and associated with the orbit of the abbey of Saint Martial, but not clearly a product of its scriptorium. It contains texted and untexted versions of *Valde lumen*.[110]

Stanza 5 of the sequence illustrates the differences between Adémar's approach to the neumation of the untexted version and that of Pa 887's scribe. (See Example 2.7.) Both untexted neumations agree in many places and some of the differences result from the kind of grouping of words noted above. For example, in the second phrase of the stanza, which occupies the second system of Example 2.7, the text of both half-stanzas falls into two units of four and six syllables, respectively: "armonicam

[108] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:66 and 76.

[109] Texted: Pa 909 fols. 75r-76v. Untexted: Pa 1121 fol. 64r-v, and Pa 909 fol. 119r. See Edition III.1.A and IXA.17.C, respectively.

[110] Texted: Pa 887 fols. 125r-127v. Untexted: Pa 887 fols. 92v-93r. On Pa 887 in general, see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:151–56; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 180–81; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 98–100; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 117–18.

Example 2.7. Sequence *Valde Lumen* stanza 5

Pa 887

Pa 909

5a. Sus- ci- pi- as iam de- uo- ta pre- cum li- ba- mi- na,

5b. A- qui- ta- na haec pre- ca- ta le- mo- ui- cum pi- a

Pa 887

Pa 909

Mar- ci- a- lis, quae tur- ma ar- mo- ni- cam

lau- dan- ti- a pa- tro- num fe- sta- li- a

resultando liram" and "festalia per celeberrima." For the first text unit, Adémar, in the untexted version, provides a neume grouping of one and three notes, whereas the scribe of Pa 887 presents two binary neumes. Similarly, for the second unit, Adémar groups five notes together with one additional note, while Pa 887 gives groups of two, three and one note for the six syllables. The details differ but the principle of grouping remains consistent.

Elsewhere, however, the scribe of Pa 887 does not seem to base his untexted neumation on the texted version. The first phrase of the stanza

Example 2.7. (*cont.*)

Pa 887

Pa 909

re- sul- tan- do li- ram ad al- ta, Chri- ste, tu- a

per ce- le- ber- ri- ma quem men- te iam de- uo- ta

Pa 887

Pa 909

haec pre- ca- ta pro- mit si- de- ra.

ue- ne- ran- tur ac hu- mil- li- ma.

(first system of Example 2.7) ends with a six-syllable unit: "precum libamina" and "lemouicum pia." Adémar breaks the neume group before this unit while the scribe of Pa 887 carries the grouping across the word division. Furthermore, Pa 887 ends the phrase with the conventional *pes stratus*, thereby creating a break between neume groupings where there is no word division in either half-stanza of the prosa. Adémar, on the other hand, separates the repeated notes on A at the cadence, perhaps in cognizance of the bisyllable "pia" with which the phrase ends in stanza 5b. In the last phrase (fourth system of Example 2.7), both untexted

versions close with a *pes stratus*, but Adémar precedes this figure with a binary neume, creating a five-note group coincident with the closing text unit: "promit sidera" and "ac humillima." The scribe of Pa 887 groups the notes of Adémar's penultimate binary neume with the preceding four notes, and so avoids a break in the neume groupings where the text divides.

Perhaps more striking is the treatment of the beginning of this final phrase. Both texts open with three- and four-syllable units, which are reflected in the neume groupings Adémar imposes in his untexted version. The scribe of Pa 887, however, presents neumes of two, two and three notes, respectively, thereby breaking a neume where there is no word division (between the syllables of "alta" and "mente") and grouping across a word division in both half-stanzas ("alta, Christe" and "mente iam"). In sum, it is quite clear that coincidence between neume groupings and word divisions is much more important for Adémar than for his contemporary, the scribe of Pa 887. Again, the principle is far from being universal, but it seems to inform Adémar's logic in applying neume groupings to untexted sequentiae.

There would seem to be two possible reasons for Adémar's mode of presentation. In the first instance, all singers would require some guidance for shaping the long melismata of the sequentia into comprehensible musical phrases. The neumatic groupings that all Aquitanian scribes impose on these pieces would aid in this regard. But the external logic that Adémar invokes, using the text of the corresponding prosa as a guide for his neumatic groupings, might reinforce the link between the two forms of the piece in the mind of the singer. And this link forms the second motivation for Adémar's approach to these neumations. Singers who know the prosa, the texted version, might feel more comfortable creating phrases from the undifferentiated stream of notes that constitutes the sequentia if their visual presentation, in neumatic groupings, reminds them of the text of the prosa, and suggests that the phrasing of the prosa informs that of the sequentia.

ADÉMAR'S COPYING TECHNIQUES

Because so many of the sources to which Adémar had access in the library of Saint Martial while he was copying Pa 1121 and 909 survive, we can make a precise assessment of his copying techniques. Such an assessment holds interest for two reasons. First, in view of Adémar's own contribution to the development of musical notation and literacy, by using accurate heighting to designate relative pitch relationships, it is significant to know to what

degree his copying depended on aural recollection of the melodies and visual apprehension of them in written exemplars. Second, Paul Saenger observes that Adémar habitually wrote his text manuscripts in what Saenger calls aerated script (script that irregularly distributes space between words and syllables) precisely at the time when Aquitanian scribes were making the transition from aerated texts to full word separation.[111] In his music manuscripts, however, Adémar was already incorporating word separation, as I discuss below. Saenger maintains that the aerated texts of the late Caroline period, like the texts written in *scriptura continua* (texts that provide no space between words) they replaced, required interaction between the visual perception of the text and the mental apprehension of vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sense, to decode them. Texts written with full word separation, however, could be copied by a much more mechanical and purely visual process.[112]

Two further points need consideration before we turn to Adémar's manuscripts and copying techniques. First, Saenger adduces evidence from music manuscripts to support his claim of the use of aerated script in Saint Martial during Adémar's lifetime.[113] The way in which a literary text is inscribed in a chant book, however, depends not just on its visual presentation but also on its relationship with the melody to which it is sung. As noted above, in the discussion of musical notation in Albi 44, text scribes provide horizontal space between syllables and words to accommodate melismata, and the presence of this space demonstrates that that manuscript was created with the idea in mind that musical notation would be entered.[114] In this regard, the text scribe of Pa 1120, the troper-proser produced at Saint Martial in the early eleventh century, has consistently failed to leave adequate horizontal space for the music. Consequently, in melismatic passages, the melody often doubles back on itself above a syllable set with a long melisma, and a subsequent user of the codex has entered lines to demarcate the musical settings of individual syllables.[115] This evidence leads me to deduce that, for a good deal of the music he copied, no neumed exemplar was available to the text scribe of Pa 1120.

[111] Saenger, *Space between Words*, especially, on Aquitaine, pp. 223–34 (on Adémar, pp. 224–25, where Saenger notes that Adémar habitually copied in aerated script; see below).

[112] Saenger, *Space between Words*, pp. 48–51.

[113] Saenger, *Space between Words*, p. 224, citing Pa 1119, 887 and 1871; Table A7, pp. 288–89, includes Pa 1240, 1121, 1119, 887 and 1871, the last of which also appears in Table A8, p. 290.

[114] Saenger, *Space between Words*, pp. 36–37, notes that music text "is more intensely aerated and consequently contains more freestanding syllables and words," without linking this phenomenon to the horizontal space that melismatic music requires.

[115] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," p. 115, and Figures 5 and 11, pp. 72 and 115, respectively.

One set of music texts, however, does provide a solid basis for appraising whether text scribes at Saint Martial were adopting word separation, and these are the prosae. Because these pieces are set almost universally in a syllabic manner, with each syllable receiving a single note, the horizontal spacing of the text does not depend on the prolixity of the musical setting, as in other genres. Four manuscripts created at Saint Martial or in its orbit between roughly 1000 and 1040 contain complete prosers or smaller collections of prosae: Pa 1120, 1121 (with music but not text in Adémar's hand), 909 (music and text in Adémar's hand) and 887.[116] All except the last, Pa 887, use full word separation fairly consistently; Pa 887 is less uniform in its application of the principle, but often supplements it with a short horizontal line drawn between words along the rule that guides the writing of the literary text. In the three collections of prosae from Saint Martial, all the text scribes tend not to separate monosyllabic prepositions and relative pronouns from the words that follow. Saenger notes that this practice remained common even after the adoption of word separation.[117]

Nevertheless, each of these three scribes leaves slightly more space between words than his predecessor. The text scribe of Pa 1120 uses a space that equals what Saenger calls the "unity of space."[118] In contrast, Adémar's colleague in Pa 1121 leaves approximately double the unity of space and Adémar himself, in the prosae he entered in Pa 909, varies the spacing between one and three times the unity of space, averaging roughly one and a half times the unity of space. Saenger identifies texts that consistently use between one and a half and two times the unity of space between words as fully separated.[119] Therefore, Adémar, in Pa 909, and his colleague in Pa 1121 appear to meet Saenger's criteria for full word separation, with its attendant implications for the increasingly visual nature of copying.

The second observation that precedes our detailed consideration of Adémar's copying procedures concerns the production of the Aquitanian uersus manuscripts of the twelfth century, where literate processes coexist alongside oral/aural modes of transmission.[120] Unequivocal evidence demonstrates the use of visual copying of both text and music in these manuscripts. That is, in the lyric repertory, scribes copied visually in the first instance, but as they did they introduced variants into the music they

[116] Pa 1120 fols. 106–153; Pa 1121 fols. 196r-201v; Pa 909 fols. 75r-77v, 198r-201v; and Pa 887 fols. 96r-149v. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:176–89, 190–98, 246–60, 151–68, respectively.

[117] Saenger, *Space between Words*, pp. 30–32.

[118] That is, the horizontal space between the minims of the letters *n* or *u*; see Saenger, *Space between Words*, pp. 26–27.

[119] Saenger, *Space between Words*, pp. 27–30, 47–48.

[120] Grier, "Scribal Practices."

were copying in accordance with their personal perception of its state in performance, either real and remembered or imagined and virtual. Adémar obviously contributed materially to the development of musical literacy by introducing accurate heighting for the inscription of pitch. But it is possible to refine this observation by examining the evidence from the eleventh-century sources, including Adémar's autographs. Clear evidence points to an increasing use of visual copying throughout the course of the eleventh century, and again, Adémar seems to be a pivotal figure in this development.

We can begin by showing that, on the one hand, scribes in the generation before Adémar were influenced by aural/oral issues in their copying, and, on the other, scribes in the second half of the eleventh century were copying on the basis of visual perception. In the Introit trope for Saint Martial *Marcialis dominum*, Pa 1120, 1121, 1084a and 1084c all read "iessit" for the verb "gessit," the reading of Pa 909, 1119 and 887.[121] The error is caused by an aural confusion between the soft *g* that begins "gessit" and the *y* sound signified by consonantal *i*. Pa 1121, 1084a and 1084c were all produced at Saint Martial, and their scribes may have copied the reading from Pa 1120. Even the scribe of the latter may have seen this reading in an exemplar, although, as noted above in Table 2.1, the scribe of Pa 1120 may have composed this trope. Nevertheless, the reading "iessit" clearly originated in a discrepancy in orthography influenced by uncertainty in pronunciation, and even if the scribes of Pa 1121, 1084a and 1084c copied the reading visually from Pa 1120, their spelling would likewise have been affected by their habits of pronunciation and their aural/oral perception of the word.

A similar problem occurs in the trope *Sedibus externis*, which also might be an original composition by the scribe of Pa 1120. For "externis," which Pa 1121, 909 and 1119 have, Pa 1120, 1084a, 1084c and 887 all give either "hesternis" or "esternis."[122] The latter, which renders the passage "From yesterday's seats," makes no sense, and has arisen from an aural confusion of the sibilants *s* and *x*. Again, Pa 1084a and 1084c might have copied the reading from Pa 1120, but the derivation of Pa 887 is less certain. Later in the same trope, Pa 1120, 1121, 1084a, 1084c and 887 all mistransliterate the medieval neologism from the Greek letters: σπερμολόγος as "sparmologus." Adémar gives the correct transliteration,

[121] See Edition I.3.C.

[122] See Edition I.3.E; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 54.

"spermologus," here (as does Pa 1119) and in his *Chronicon*.[123] In this case too, pronunciation may have interfered with the correct reading.

Finally, the auralization of the text in copying occasionally results in banalization, as in the trope *Vt esset sacerdos*, usually assigned to the Feast of Saint Martial, but placed by Adémar in the Mass for Saint Austriclinian. The scribe of Pa 1120 renders the Old Testament proper name Melchisedech unintelligible by converting its last two syllables to the common Latin words "sed haec": "Melchi- sed haec."[124] The nature of this group of errors clearly indicates that the scribe of Pa 1120, in the first decade or two of the eleventh century, employed the kind of aural processes Saenger associates with the copying from exemplars in *scriptura continua* or aerated script.

The habits of the music scribe of this codex are somewhat more difficult to ascertain. For much of the music, as discussed above, he seems to have possessed no neumed exemplar, and so he would have been forced to create the neumations in Pa 1120 from his aural recollections of the melodies. He did, however, have the fragmentary troper in Pa 1834 for several Masses, including those for Ascension, Pentecost and John the Baptist. A comparison of the neumations for pieces shared by Pa 1834 and 1120 reveals a very high degree of correspondence, not just in the musical readings but in the choice of neumes as well where the scribe has some discretion.[125] This similarity suggests that the scribe of Pa 1120 did copy the musical text visually when an exemplar was available.

Why would the behaviour of the music scribe of Pa 1120 differ so radically from that of the manuscript's text scribe? I believe the explanation lies in the apparent lack of experience in the scriptorium of Saint Martial with musical notation. Both the codification projects attested by the fragmentary troper in Pa 1834 and the palimpsest at the end of Pa 1085 apparently failed. Codices Pa 1120 and 1085 represented major initiatives on the part of the musical community of Saint Martial and a strong affirmation of the importance of musical notation in the professional life of that community. A lack of expertise in the newly embraced technology would explain the tentative nature of the notation in both codices, and the use of visual copying by the music scribe of Pa 1120 where possible. The learning curve, however, appears to have been quite steep, as attested by the production of Pa 1121, 909 (in both of which Adémar functioned

[123] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 176. [124] See Edition I.6.B.
[125] For a sample, compare Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," Figures 4 and 5, pp. 71–72.

as music scribe), 1138/1338 and 1119 all within a half century or so of the creation of Pa 1120.

Scribes in the generation after Adémar definitely copied visually as illustrated by an error in Pa 1119, copied between AD 1051 and 1062. The error occurs in the troped Mass for Saint Martial, in the trope *ad sequentia Marcialis primus*, which, in Pa 1119, follows the other trope *ad sequentia Christus apostolico* and precedes the Offertory trope *Marcialem dominus*.[126] Adémar placed *Marcialis primus*, the sequentia trope, at the end of Mass, after the Offertory and Communion tropes in Pa 909, and so the other sequentia trope, *Christus apostolico*, immediately precedes the Offertory trope *Marcialem dominus*.[127] When the text scribe of Pa 1119 came to this point in the Mass, he shifted *Marcialis primus* into what he took to be its correct position, after the other sequentia trope.

But when the music scribe began to write the music for it, he continued copying that which immediately followed *Christus apostolico* in Pa 909: the music for the Offertory trope *Marcialem dominus*, encouraged by the homoeoarchon *Marcialis*/*Marcialem*. Only when he came to the inflected ending, *-lis*/*-lem*, did he notice his mistake, erase the music and enter the correct melody for the sequentia trope. This type of error could only have occurred through visual copying: the two melodies are completely unrelated and, in fact, fall in different modes (*Marcialis primus* in mode 7, *Marcialem dominus* in mode 2) and so could not have been confused aurally.

Moreover, although the music scribe of Pa 1119 would have known the melody of *Marcialem dominus* (it had been in the repertory of the abbey since at least the production of Pa 1120), he would not have known that of *Marcialis primus*, which, as part of the apostolic liturgy, had probably not been sung since its suppression in AD 1029. Therefore, he could not have confused the two melodies through aural processes. The error demonstrates that the music scribe of Pa 1119 was copying visually and simply continued copying the music from Pa 909 in sequence, moving from the end of *Christus apostolico* to the beginning of *Marcialem dominus*.

Adémar performs a pivotal role in shifting greater prominence from aural/oral to visual processes in copying. So much is clear from his treatment of the literary text, where he not only copied accurately (an equally probable result from either copying technique) but he both chose

[126] See Edition I.3.N-P.

[127] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 39–40.

correctly when two competing readings were available to him from different sources and also emended errors that escaped the notice of other scribes at Saint Martial. He alone (followed by the scribe of Pa 1119) provided the correct readings "gessit" and "spermologus" in the examples from Pa 1120 cited above, and he wrote "externis" in the trope *Sedibus externis*, selecting the reading of Pa 1121 over that of Pa 1120. Other examples illustrate considerable grammatical sophistication. For instance, in the phrase "Quem primum nouit tellus aquitanica patrem" ("whom the Aquitanian land knew as its first father") from the Introit trope *Marcialem duodenus*, Pa 1120 reads "aquitanicam," attracted into the case of "patrem" by an error of assimilation through anticipation (despite the difference in gender), while Pa 1121 corrects to "aquitanica" in agreement with "tellus," with which Adémar concurs.[128]

Such grammatical expertise carries over into Adémar's original emendations. In the Introit trope *Sedibus externis*, all other sources read "Fonte sacra," incorrectly taking *fons* to be feminine. Adémar first wrote "sacra," indicating that he was copying visually, but then corrected to "sacro," agreeing with "fonte" in gender.[129] Similarly, Adémar corrects the text of the antiphon *Vir deo* in the Office for Saint Martial from the reading of Pa 1253: "portari se in oratorio" ("to be carried into the oratory"). He changes to "oratorium," the more usual accusative after the verb of motion "portari" ("to be carried").[130] And in the responsory of the same Office, *Praecepit autem*, he corrects the reading of Pa 1253, "populum aquitanicum ad ueram diuini cultus perduceret religiosum" ("he would lead the religious people of Aquitaine to the truth of the divine cult") by providing "religionem" for "religiosum." This reading supplies a substantive for "ueram" to modify, and so an object for the preposition "ad" ("he would lead the people of Aquitaine to the true religion of the divine cult").[131]

Perhaps Adémar's *lectio difficillima* occurs in the Introit trope *In sancti huius*, usually assigned to the Mass for Saint Benedict, but appropriated by Adémar for the Feast of Saint Justinian.[132] All other sources read "Scrutatorem omnium corda sequens praecepta ideo." The superabundance of accusatives, all to be construed after the verbal "sequens," defies interpretation, and in fact led Adémar into error. He first wrote "Scrutatoris"

[128] Edition I.3.F. See also Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 54–55. Other examples occur in the Office for Saint Martial, where Adémar prefers the readings of Pa 1240 over those of Pa 1253: "cultus religionem" for "cultu religionis" in the antiphon *Ne differas* (Edition II.2.1.D); and "morte" for "mortem" in the antiphon *Arrepto itinere* (II.2.1.F).

[129] Edition I.3.E. [130] Edition II.10.D. [131] Edition II.2.2.I.

[132] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 66.

for "Scrutatorem," correcting the error in the passage by providing a dependent genitive for "praecepta," but then continued with the banalization "corde," rendering the phrase "likewise following the precepts of the examiner of everyone in his heart." He then returned to the passage and corrected "corde" back to the original reading "corda," taking it thus as a retained accusative after "scrutatoris" ("likewise following the precepts of the one who examines everyone's heart").[133]

Adémar was well established as a competent professional text scribe by the time he undertook the composition of the apostolic liturgy, from which these examples are taken.[134] These scribal interventions demonstrate the care with which Adémar copied and the sophisticated Latinity he could bring to bear on the task. Moreover, they show that Adémar employed visual copying alongside an ongoing critical apprehension of the grammar and syntax of the text. He was therefore less likely to commit the kind of errors we have seen in the text of Pa 1120, where the scribe erred on the basis of aural/oral confusion. Saenger would link Adémar's copying technique with the use of exemplars that consistently employ full word separation, but such is not the case in those manuscripts available to Adémar at Saint Martial. Instead, I suspect that Adémar was enabled to effect these emendations because he copied texts to be sung to music on a word-by-word basis, rather than by syntactical units, as Saenger suggests in the case of copying from *scriptura continua* or aerated script. This habit may already be visible to some degree in the text of Pa 1121 (its scribe corrects "hesternis" in Pa 1120 to "externis," but retains "iessit" rather than "gessit"), which was copied by Adémar's collaborator.

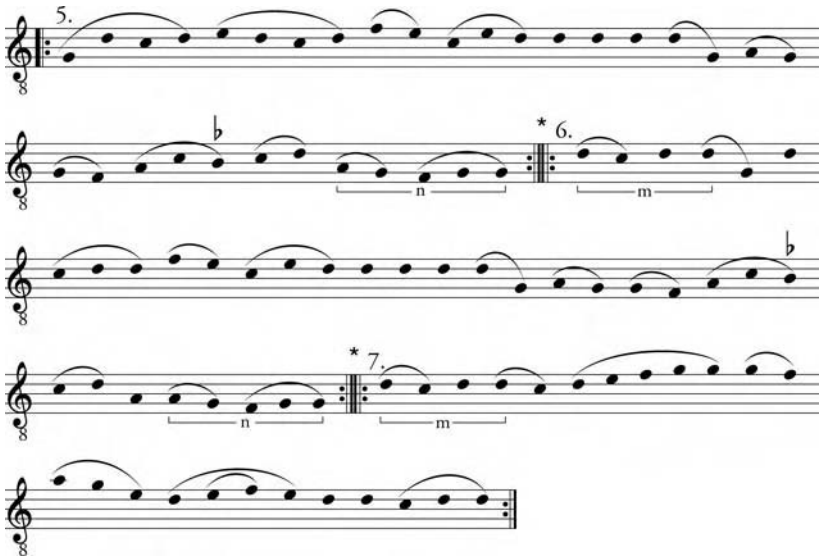
It is more difficult to establish Adémar's procedures for copying music. Two of his original compositions contain scribal errors, one of which is corrected, which remind us that composers are not infallible scribes, proofreaders or editors of their own works.[135] When he copies music from an exemplar, however, it would appear that he works visually as he did with literary texts, although the evidence is by no means unequivocal. A series of errors in the sequentiary of Pa 909, all caused by homoeoarchon, homoeoteleuton, or a combination of both, strongly suggests a visual process. Example 2.8 shows an omission from the sequentia

[133] Edition I.8.B.

[134] Delisle, "Notice"; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 82–84, 89–119.

[135] Corrected error in the Introit trope *Sanctus Marcialis* (Edition I.3.I): Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 48. Error in the Gloria trope *Rex apostolorum* (I.3.K): Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, pp. 73–74. On the reliability of autographs in general, see *ibid.*, pp. 1–2, 112–14.

Example 2.8. Sequentia *Ad celebres* strophes 5–7, Pa 909 fol. 121r-v



Ad celebres, for the feast of Saint Michael.[136] The passage between the asterisks, the music for stanza 6, was originally omitted and later entered by Adémar in the top margin of fol. 121v. The omission begins exactly like the phrase that immediately follows (stanza 7, marked **m** in Example 2.8) and its cadence agrees precisely with that which precedes it (stanza 5, marked **n**).

This error could easily have occurred had Adémar been working visually: after copying the end of stanza 5 (**n**) and noting that the next stanza began with the music marked **m**, Adémar glanced back at his exemplar, located, by accident, precisely the same music at the end of stanza 6 and beginning of stanza 7, and began copying stanza 7, omitting in the process all of stanza 6. The same error could have occurred under the influence of aural memory (in either writing out the melody from memory or aurally reconstructing it while referring to a written exemplar) and for the same reasons: mistaking the cadence of stanza 5 for that of stanza 6 (**n**) and then continuing with stanza 7 instead of stanza 6. Adémar later recognized his error from his knowledge of the melody or

[136] Pa 909 fol. 121r-v; also in Pa 1121 fol. 66v in Adémar's hand. Edition IXA.20.A.

from a careful inspection of his exemplar and corrected it by adding the music in the top margin.

Similar errors occur nearby: later in *Ad celebres*, he omitted the music of stanza 9 through homoeoteleuton and subsequently added it in the left margin of fol. 121v, and two sequentiae later, in *Marcialis clara* (assigned to Martial in Pa 1121, but to his companion Austriclinian in Pa 909), Adémar omits the music of stanza 5, again through homoeoteleuton, but this time does not restore it in the margin.[137] This cluster of errors, all committed on a single page (fol. 121v), strongly suggests a visual rather than an aural/oral process. A scribe who was depending on his aural recollection of a piece to reconstruct it while consulting an exemplar and who had already corrected himself twice (in *Ad celebres*) might have been sufficiently alerted to the problem to avoid it subsequently. Instead, the recurrence of the same type of error in *Marcialis clara*, further down the same page and this time left uncorrected, suggests that the entire copying procedure depended on visual processes.

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Adémar contributed significantly to the development of Aquitanian notation and musical literacy in the professional community of Saint Martial. His contributions all suggest an orientation towards increasing systemization, rationalization and supplementing the aural recall of the melodies with more precise visually transmitted information. While Adémar's developments did not generate a musical notation that permitted fully visual and therefore literate transmission of the music, they greatly augmented the role of visual apprehension particularly in the pedagogical transmission of chant. What is missing from Adémar's notation for absolute pitch indication is the combination of staff lines and clefs prescribed by his contemporary Guido d'Arezzo. Even here, though, Adémar made some tentative steps towards regulating his accurately heighted neumes, first with modal numbers, which can serve as a form of clef, and then with his experimental, and not always felicitous, use of freehand horizontal lines in the sequentiary of Pa 909.

As discussed above, Adémar's use of accurate heighting to show relative pitch information, linked with his application of the *custos* and selective employment of *litterae significatiuae* to confirm pitch relationships, is his greatest contribution to musical literacy in the scriptorium of Saint

[137] *Marcialis clara*: Pa 909 fols. 121v-122r; also in Pa 1121 fol. 65r in Adémar's hand. Edition IXA.22.A.

Martial. But the other characteristics of his music writing also reinforce the increasing role that visual information assumes in musical transmission. The *oriscus*, for example, when used in a texted piece, visually reinforces those instances when two adjacent notes of the same pitch are in fact consecutive, as discussed above. The correspondence between word division in the prosa and neume groupings in the sequentia that shares its melody provides a visual cue to the singer of the sequentia with regard to both the unwritten text of the prosa and the execution of the melody. The *oriscus* makes a contribution here too, because it signifies that consecutive notes of the same pitch belong to the same neumatic group.

In other respects, Adémar imposes a logic on his neumations that sometimes reinforces the visual aspect of the notation, and sometimes operates independently of it. His neumations of the sequentiae reflect the first condition. I mention the visual import of this technique above, but its roots lie in Adémar's wish to govern the neumatic groupings according to an external and rationally based criterion: word division in the corresponding prosa. The application of liquescence also supplies visual information, but Adémar's implementation of the technique, idiosyncratic and not uniformly consistent, relies on his own personal practice of pronunciation.

Adémar's musical notation demonstrates that the first requirement for a successful singer in the musical community at Saint Martial, other than the requisite musical skill, remained in the first half of the eleventh century a thorough knowledge of chant, its theoretical constructs and its liturgical context acquired through oral/aural processes as well as long exposure to and practice of the repertory. But simultaneously, his notation reflects an expansion of the professional requirements for those singers. Notation provided a visual reinforcement for the oral pedagogical processes by which the repertory was taught, and perhaps expedited the successful delivery of that pedagogy. After Adémar, singers at Saint Martial would have to develop facility in the reading and writing of musical notation in order to control the repertories they were required to perform.

The move to supplement the oral tradition with a written one began at Saint Martial on a large scale between AD 1000 and 1025 with the project to codify the liturgical repertories in use there, perhaps under the direction of the cantor Roger de Chabannes. His nephew Adémar made significant contributions to that process with the neumations he provided for Pa 1121 and 909, and the notational innovations he introduced in them. The motivation for these developments seems to lie in a need to

stabilize and preserve the liturgical repertories of the abbey. The existence of this need emerges from the relative density of the sources produced at Saint Martial throughout the eleventh century and in the relative stability of the constituent melodies preserved in them. This application of the technology of musical notation stands in marked contrast to the practices of musicians at Saint Martial in the twelfth century. Once the technology was fully assimilated into the professional fabric of the musical community, its members began to use it to record their personal versions of the lyric (and admittedly non-liturgical) repertory they began to compose, circulate and perform in the monastery.[138]

[138] Grier, "Scribal Practices," especially pp. 400–20.

CHAPTER 3

Compiler

The creators of new liturgies throughout the Middle Ages frequently employed borrowed and adapted items from existing liturgies. Those less talented or ambitious in the composition of entirely new works could still express themselves in this forum and perform useful service for their institutions. Perhaps more important, the reuse of familiar pieces forged meaningful links between the new liturgies and existing practice, creating associations between saints, for example, whose feasts shared pieces, or the several Marian feasts throughout the year. Monks at Saint Martial in the generations before Adémar produced a rich liturgical tradition with precisely these means, most outstandingly in the earliest documented liturgy for their patron saint, as I discuss below. Adémar, too, employed the method; in every case, he capitalized on the matrix of associations the process afforded to make very particular statements within the new liturgy he was creating.

His application of this technique, however, moves far beyond the borrowing and adaptation of existing pieces. In creating as full a record as possible of the new apostolic liturgy for the Feast of Saint Martial, Adémar provided significantly greater detail about liturgical practice, particularly in the Divine Office, than his predecessors. He seems to have had several purposes in mind for this level of detail, chief among which was the creation of a permanent and authoritative written record, as discussed in Chapter 2 above. Such a monument, Adémar believed, would help to give credence to the new liturgy for Martial. Furthermore, in the matter of details, he wished to control the texts of the minor, formulaic pieces that provide articulations within the liturgy, such as the verses that follow the final antiphonal piece in each nocturn of Matins or the short responsory that follows the reading in Lauds. Every cantor would know conventional pieces for these moments, and Adémar has supplied alternatives that are more specific for Martial.

Finally, Adémar gives special attention to the responsories of Matins. First, he writes out in full the melody for the responsorial verses in the

Offices for Martial, Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard. In this regard, he may have been influenced by the layout of Pa 1085, which usually gives the full texts of the responsorial verses, sometimes with music, while abbreviating other chants including the refrains of responsories.[1] Second, on two occasions in the Office for Martial and once in the Office for Valérie, he takes advantage of this presentation of the verses to supply melodies other than the prescribed modal formulae. These melodies appear to be newly composed, and, in each case, they form part of the final responsory in a nocturn, a strategic position within the liturgy. Third, Adémar completes the final responsory in each nocturn of the Offices for Martial and Cybard with an extended melismatic elaboration of the final repetendum, following the Lesser Doxology. Such embellishments occur in other institutions, and there are hints of this practice in Pa 1085, but Adémar's integral presentation is unique in a source of this date from Saint Martial and gives us an opportunity to study the full effect of the musical elaboration.

BORROWING AND ADAPTING AT SAINT MARTIAL

Two early liturgies preserved at Saint Martial exemplify the different techniques used by the monks there when they reused pre-existing pieces in the compilation of new liturgies. The earliest surviving liturgy for the abbey's patron saint, Martial, consists of a troped Mass in Pa 1240. Most of the items in the Mass have a dual allegiance with Martial and Saint Martin, a saint of the same rank, confessor-bishop, who was widely venerated in Aquitaine, as mentioned above in Chapter 2. (See Table 3.1.) Except for the highly mobile *Hora est psallite* and the Offertory trope *Cristo egregias*, all these tropes are found elsewhere in Masses for Martin.[2] But it is not entirely clear for which saint the tropes might originally have been composed.

[1] On the responsorial verses in Pa 1085, see Grier, "The Divine Office," pp. 183–84.

[2] *Hora est psallite*, introduction to *Quem queritis in sepulcro*, Easter, Pa 1118 fol. 40v; part of introductory trope for Introit in Pentecost Mass, Pa 903 fol. 155v. See Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 95, 248; Weiß, ed., *MMMA* 3: no. 343 pp. 363–64, and Commentary to no. 230 p. 415; Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes*, 2: no. 7 pp. 37–42, no. 84 pp. 105–6, no. 140 p. 150; and *CT* 3:117, 220, 237. *Cristo egregias*, part of troped Mass for Martial: Pa 1118 fols. 79v-80r (all three elements, and not just the second and third, as *AH* 49: no. 583 p. 301, states), Pa 1084a fol. 48v (second element only), Pa 1084c fol. 135v (all three elements), Pa 1120 fol. 51r (all three elements), Pa 1121 fol. 32r (second element only; see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 156 p. 220). On the shared allegiance of the tropes in general, see Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 31, 63–67; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 57–61; and Doyle, "The Repertory of Tropes," 1:254–56.

Table 3.1. *The troped Mass for Saint Martial in Pa 1240 and its sources*

Incipit	Folios	Editions	Assignment to Saint Martin
Introit tropes (STATVIT)			
Hora est psallite	36ra–rb	Daux, *Tropaire-Prosier*, p. 41	Pa 1118 fols. 96v-97r
Pastori eximio		Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 154 p. 219	Pa 1084b fol. 88r-v
Cuius Marcialis		Weiß, ed., *MMMA* 3: no. 92 pp. 114–15	
Dilectis ouibus			
Sidereeque			
(*Pastori eximio* and the following three elements are usually preceded by *Psallite omnes*.)			
Coronam sacerdocii	36rb	Daux, *Tropaire-Prosier*, p. 41	Pa 1118 fol. 97r
Quo uniti		*AH* 49: no. 292 p. 129	Pa 1084b fol. 88v
In loco sublimans		Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 152 p. 218	
Manens indeficiens		Weiß, ed., *MMMA* 3: no. 82 pp. 102–3	
(*Coronam sacerdocii* and the following three elements are usually preceded by *Celsa polorum*.)			
Marcialis meriti	36rb	Daux, *Tropaire-Prosier*, pp. 39–40	Pa 1118 fols. 94v-95r
Carcere qui nexus		*AH* 49: no. 298 p. 131	Pa 1084b fol. 86r-v
Cuius pontificalis		Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 148 p. 215	
Menibus astriferis		Weiß, ed., *MMMA* 3: no. 79 pp. 98–99	
		Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes*, 2: no. 168 pp. 172–73	
(The incipit of the first element in other sources is *Martinus/Marcialis meritis*.)			
Ante sequencia			
Regi immortali	36va	*AH* 49: no. 512 p. 269	Pa 1240 fol. 37vb
		Evans, "The *Tropi Ad Sequentiam*," ex. 6 p. 81	
		idem, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 94 p. 185	
		CT 2: no. 50.1 p. 105	
Ad offerenda (VERITAS)			
Iam que pura	36va	*AH* 49: no. 544 p. 286	Pa 1240 fol. 37vb, but uses name Martial in text
Cristo egregias	36va	*AH* 49: no. 583 pp. 300–1	none
(Pa 1240 gives first element only.)			

For example, the other Offertory trope, *Iam que pura*, occurs in the Masses for both Martial and Martin in Pa 1240, as Table 3.1 shows. This latter allocation is remarkable for two reasons: first, it requires the Offertory *Veritas*, which *Iam que pura* invariably introduces, to be sung as part of the Mass for Martin, whereas that Mass usually includes the Offertory *Posuisti*;[3] and second, the text of the trope, both times it occurs in Pa 1240, uses the proper name Martial. Now, liturgical texts frequently substitute one saint's name for another, and the near homonyms Martialis/Martinus provide an easy opportunity for such interchanges. Moreover, because of the dates of the feasts (Martial 30 June, Martin 11 November), the Mass for Martial occurs in Pa 1240 before Martin's (fols. 36va and 37vb, respectively). Therefore, the text scribe, after writing the text correctly in the Mass for Martial, failed to modify it for inclusion in the Mass for Martin. It is possible that the trope was composed for Martial, particularly in view of the trope's association with the Offertory *Veritas*, which is characteristic of Martial's liturgy and not Martin's, and then adopted (but not adapted, as Martial's name remains in the text) for Martin's feast.

Regi immortali, the trope *ante sequencia*, offers little evidence of its origins for a particular feast. Like *Hora est psallite*, it occurs on several feasts, and its text is generically hortatory in tone and unspecific as to liturgical assignment.[4] Two of the three Introit tropes, that which includes *Pastori eximio* (leaving aside *Hora est psallite*, which is discussed above) and that beginning *Coronam sacerdocii*, are equally applicable to any saint of the rank of confessor-bishop. Moreover, these Introit tropes occur widely in Aquitaine as part of the liturgy for Saint Martin, and, with one exception, in the liturgy for Martial only in manuscripts undoubtedly from the abbey of Saint Martial. The one exception is Pa 1118, which includes the trope complex *Psallite omnes* (of which *Pastori eximio* and the three following trope elements usually forms a part) in the Masses for both Martial (fol. 78v) and Martin (fols. 96v-97r). This exception becomes even more curious when we note that the third trope element, which normally begins "Cuius Martinus" or "Cuius Marcialis," begins, in

[3] See the Masses in Pa 1118 fol. 98r, Pa 1084b fol. 88v, Pa 1120 fol. 63v, Pa 1121 fol. 41v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 208 p. 249), Pa 909 fol. 57r, and Pa 1119 fol. 77v. The late eleventh-century gradual from Saint Martial, Pa 1132, gives the Offertory *Veritas* in its Mass for Saint Martin (fol. 94r). The sources in *AMS*, no. 164 pp. 164–65, give *Desiderium*.

[4] Feast of the Dedication: Pa 1120 fol. 33r, Pa 1121 fol. 20v, Pa 909 fol. 33v, Pa 1119 fol. 39r-v. Saint John the Evangelist: Pa 887 fol. 15r. Ascension: Pa 887 fol. 23v (*CT* 3:289). In fragmentary form, among Gloria tropes and without assignment to a feast in Pa 1084b fol. 122r. See Evans, "The *Tropi Ad Sequentiam*," pp. 75, 79.

the Mass for Martial, "Cuius Saturninus," with Martial's name added in the margin in the first hand.[5] I shall return to this variant reading below.

The final Introit trope to be considered, *Martinus/Marcialis meritis*, exhibits a similar pattern of transmission: at Saint Martial, it occurs in the Mass for Martial; elsewhere, it forms part of the Mass for Martin. The metre of the trope would seem to indicate that it was originally composed with the name "Martinus," as only that name, and not "Marcialis," fits the dactylic hexametre employed here.[6] Yet all three of these Introit tropes occur for Martin in no surviving source that is unequivocally earlier than Pa 1240, even if we accept the later date for it. Therefore, if we accept them as original compositions for Martin, we would have to suppose that they circulated, either in oral or unattested written form, as part of the liturgy for Martin prior to the production of Pa 1240.

Indeed, the eleventh-century monks at Saint Martial understood their principal association to be with Martin. The text scribe of Pa 1121, in an attempt to differentiate tropes written specifically for Martial from those dedicated to Martin, placed them at the end of the Introit tropes for Martial (fols. 30v-32r) along with other tropes unequivocally devoted to Martin. And, in the first layer of Pa 909, they appear in the Mass for Martin (fols. 54v-55r, 56r), a sign that this codex originated as a commission for the abbey of Saint Martin in Limoges.[7] If the tenth-century scribes of Pa 1240 shared this belief, then their choice to incorporate these tropes into the liturgy for Martial suggests that they were trying to improve his status by associating him with Martin.

Another possibility exists, however, in regard to their tenth-century origins, suggested by the variant "Cuius Saturninus" in Pa 1118. These three Introit tropes are all equally suitable for any saint of the rank of confessor-bishop and are undistinguished except for the use of the proper name (which, as several of the elements show, can change to suit the feast). Is it possible they originated as generic items for saints of this rank, tropes for the Common of Saints? The metrical priority of "Martinus" in

[5] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 57–60; and Doyle, "The Repertory of Tropes," 1:261–62. A similar situation occurs in the troped Mass for Auterius in Pa 1118 fols. 55v-56v; the rubric of the Mass names Gerald as an alternative dedicatee, and his name is added in the margin in several places as a substitute for Auterius: Planchart, "Fragments, Palimpsests, and Marginalia," p. 304; and Doyle, "The Repertory of Tropes," 1:232. Gerald's name is also added in the margin of the preceding Mass, for Oriencius (fol. 55r-v, in margin of 55r), but this time apparently in error as it replaces "Oriencius" in the nominative, but is given as "Geraldo" in the dative or ablative, in agreement with the first marginal addition in the Mass for Auterius on the next page, fol. 55v.

[6] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 57–60. See also Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 294–95.

[7] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 57–61; and "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 237–39.

Martinus meritis might suggest that Saint Martin served as a prototype for their composition. The variability of assignment that the tropes found in Aquitaine, however, prohibits a firm identification of them with Martin. Still less can we locate their origins in the liturgy for Martial because of the restricted circulation they enjoyed when assigned to that Feast.

So, the troped Mass for Saint Martial in Pa 1240 consists of an Introit trope (*Hora est psallite*) and a trope *ante sequencia* (*Regi immortali*) that could serve on virtually any feast; three further Introit tropes (*Pastori eximio*, *Coronam sacerdocii* and *Marcialis meritis*) possibly composed for Saint Martin, but more likely as generic tropes for saints of the rank of confessor-bishop; and two Offertory tropes (*Iam que pura* and *Cristo egregias*) possibly composed for Martial. The texts of these last two are also somewhat generic in content, besides the use of Martial's name. Moreover, the host Offertory they introduce, *Veritas*, occurs in the Mass for several confessors-bishops.[8] Therefore, these tropes, too, could be shared among feasts for saints of the suitable rank; and a trace of that function appears in the not entirely successful attempt to transfer *Iam que pura* to the Feast of Saint Martin in Pa 1240. Other than that one assignment, however, these two tropes belong exclusively to the liturgy for Martial, and so we may conclude that they were composed originally for his feast. Nevertheless, the troped Mass for Martial in Pa 1240 consists, for the most part if not entirely, of pieces adopted from other feasts and adapted, where necessary, for Martial.

The pattern continues in the troped Mass for Martial in Pa 1120 (fols. 46r-51v). There, seven Introit trope complexes and one Communion trope that are elsewhere assigned to Martin are included in the liturgy for Martial.[9] Among them are the three Introit tropes found in the Mass for Martial in Pa 1240 and discussed above, and several whose texts refer specifically to details in the biography of Martin. The presence of these tropes in Pa 1120 may indicate a close institutional affiliation between Saint Martial and a church dedicated to Saint Martin, which is further suggested by the rubric that

[8] Pa 1132 specifies the Offertory *Veritas* in the following Masses: Marcellus (fols. 20v-21r), John Chrysostom (fol. 23v), Gregory (fol. 27v), Urbanus (fol. 74v), Apollinaris (fol. 85r), Felix, Simplicius and Faustinus (fol. 85v), Stephen (fol. 86r), Augustine (fol. 90r), Mark (fol. 93r), Martin (fol. 94r, as noted above, n. 3), Clement (fol. 95r), and Nicholas (fol. 95v). See also the following Masses in *AMS*: Marcellus (no. 22 pp. 28–29), Gregory (no. 32 pp. 42–43), Urbanus (no. 104 pp. 122–23), Apollinaris (no. 128 pp. 142–43), Simplicius and companions (no. 129 pp. 144–45), Cornelius and Cyprian (no. 151 pp. 156–57), Mark (no. 158 pp. 160–61), Clement (no. 166 pp. 166–67), and the Common of one Bishop (nos. 171 and 171bis pp. 169–71).

[9] The Communion trope *Hic dictis* appears in the Masses for Martial and Martin in both Pa 1120 fols. 51v and 63v-64r, and Pa 1121 fols. 32r and 41v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 157 p. 220, no. 210 p. 249).

opens the troped Mass for Martin in the same manuscript: "In festiuitate domni nostri Martini presulis" ("On the feast of our lord bishop Martin") (fol. 62r). This rubric has led some scholars to the opinion that Pa 1120 was created for the abbey of Saint Martin in Limoges or under the influence of Saint Martin of Tours.[10]

Codex Pa 1121 includes six of these shared Introit tropes in the Mass for Martial, but places them at the end of the series, as mentioned above, and it also incorporates the Communion trope *Hic dictis* in the same Mass. All of these tropes occur in the Feast of Saint Martin in the first layer of Pa 909, and, in all likelihood, in the original episcopal liturgy for Martial in the same codex.[11] Therefore, the monks at Saint Martial, when either creating anew a liturgy for their patron saint in the tenth century or expanding an existing liturgy in the eleventh (as in Pa 1240 and 1120), felt it entirely appropriate to borrow items from the liturgy of another saint whose stature would improve that of Martial's by association.

A contrasting example is provided by the Office for Saint Valérie found in Pa 1085 (fols. 7v-9r).[12] Valérie was Martial's first convert in Limoges, and her cult assumed importance at an early date.[13] Accordingly, the monks at Saint Martial created a liturgy for her feast with a troped Mass in Pa 1120 (fol. 64r-v) and an Office in Pa 1085. While the tropes only occur in her Mass, and were therefore probably composed expressly for her cult, the Office consists almost entirely of items borrowed from other Offices.[14] (See Table 3.2.) Table 3.2 gives, as a sample, the Invitatory and the chants in the first nocturn of Matins, with their sources, together with the Office of Mary Magdalene in the same codex for comparison.[15]

Most of the chants in both Offices derive from the Assumption of the Virgin; the others come from other Marian feasts and the Common of Virgins, and this is true for the bulk of the chants in the balance of the Office.[16] Other sources include the Offices for Saints Agnes, Cecilia

[10] Saint Martin of Limoges: Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 128. Under the influence of Saint Martin of Tours: Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes*, 1:155 and n. 1, 175 and n. 1, 206, 2:347; *idem*, "The Transmission," p. 354.

[11] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 57–58, 64–69; and "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 237–39.

[12] Edition App.H.3.

[13] Gauthier, "La légende de sainte Valérie"; Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," pp. 36–45; Hahn, "Interpictoriality"; *eadem*, "Valerie's Gift"; and Lemaître, "Sainte Valérie."

[14] On the tropes, see *AH* 49: nos. 355–57 pp. 152–53.

[15] A complete list of chants in Valérie's Office borrowed from other Offices is given in the Commentary to the Edition App.H.3.

[16] Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," pp. 38–46, names just Assumption and the Common of Virgins as sources for this Office.

Table 3.2. *Items borrowed from other Offices for the Offices of Saint Valérie and Mary Magdalene in Pa 1085*

Incipit	Genre	CAO	Source Office
Saint Valérie (fols. 7v-9r)			
Regem uirginum	Invitatory	3:1151	Common of Virgins
Ante torum	Antiphon	3:1438	Purification
Haec est quae nesciuit	Antiphon	3:3001	Nativity of the Virgin
O quam pulchra	Antiphon	3:4069	Nativity of the Virgin
Specie tua	Antiphon	3:4987	Assumption
Adiuuabit	Antiphon	3:1282	Assumption
Diffusa est gratia	Versicle	4:8014	Assumption
Vidi speciosam	Responsory	4:7878	Assumption
Sicut cedrus	Responsory	4:7657	Assumption
Quae est ista	Responsory	4:7455	Assumption
Ornatam monilibus	Responsory	4:7340	Assumption
Mary Magdalene (fol. 78v)			
Regem uirginum	Invitatory	3:1151	Common of Virgins
Nominabitur	Antiphon	———	Palm Sunday
Diffusa est gratia	Responsory	4:6446	Common of Virgins
Veni electa mea	Responsory	4:7826	Assumption
Ista est speciosa	Responsory	4:6994	Assumption
Veni sponsa	Antiphon	3:5328	Common of Virgins
Haec est uirgo	Antiphon	3:3007	Common of Virgins
Veniente	Antiphon	3:5332	Common of Virgins
Benedico te	Antiphon	3:1703	Cecilia
Prudentes	Antiphon	3:4404	Common of Virgins
Specie tua	Responsory	4:7679	Common of Virgins
Optimam partem	Antiphon	3:4167	Assumption

and Agatha. Four chants presented in full in Pa 1085 seem to be original compositions for Valérie's feast, and Adémar incorporated them into his Office for the feast.[17] There are also some connections between the Offices for Valérie and Mary Magdalene: all three responsories in Matins of the latter Office occur in that for Valérie (two, *Diffusa est gratia* and *Ista est speciosa*, in the second nocturn; *Veni electa mea* is first in the third nocturn), and the four antiphons for Lauds are identical in both Offices (these chants do not occur in the portion of Valérie's Office shown in Table 3.2). This situation suggests that the two Offices

[17] The chants are *Virgo Valeria*, *Quaedam nobilis*, *Alma uirgo* and *Valens uiribus*; see Edition VII.2.2. J, 3.F, 5.A, 8.B, respectively.

were compiled under the same circumstances from the same stock of chants for the production of Pa 1085.

It is impossible to say whether any of the borrowed chants were adapted for Valérie's Office, since Pa 1085 gives their incipits only. Most of the texts use diction that is general in nature and equally applicable to any female saint. Nevertheless, this example shows that an Office for a local saint could be created by borrowing a large number of items from several Offices. The choice of those source Offices carries import as well. First, the texts of the borrowed chants had to be suitable for the saint whose Office was being constructed, and that is the case here, as the monks of Saint Martial drew on the Offices of other saintly women including the Virgin Mary.

But second, and simultaneously, by using chants that are already familiar to those who attend and participate in the Office for Valérie, the compilers of the Office create a matrix of associations between her and the saints on whose Offices they have drawn. They situate Valérie firmly in the community of virgin women saints. And it may have been as important to eleventh-century religious to establish these associations as to create an entirely new liturgy. The monks at Saint Martial balanced Valérie's liturgy by integrating the newly composed chants mentioned above to make her Office simultaneously specific to her yet a full participant in the cult of virgin saints. It is precisely this balance between, on the one hand, the old and familiar, and, on the other, the new and novel that Adémar invokes in his confection of the apostolic liturgy for Martial.

THE APOSTOLIC MASS FOR MARTIAL

When Adémar undertook the task of creating a liturgy for Martial that would acknowledge and celebrate his apostolic status, he had to confront two essential facts: the older monks at the abbey had long venerated Martial as a confessor-bishop and they had constituted a substantial liturgical practice, in both Mass and Office, for the saint at that rank. Both Pa 1120 and 1085, produced during the lifetime of Adémar's uncle Roger, the abbey's cantor, contain patronal liturgies for the saint that employ a significant amount of newly composed material. And Adémar himself had inscribed the music for the episcopal troped Mass in Pa 1121, which is largely the same as that in Pa 1120.[18] Faced with the accumulated

[18] Pa 1085 contains Offices for the principal feast of Martial (30 June) fols. 76v-77r, and the Octave (7 July) fols. 77v-78r; see Edition App.H.1 and 2. Pa 1121 contains the troped Mass for Martial with

weight of this tradition, Adémar decided that he could not ignore the existing liturgy. Instead of jettisoning it and starting *tabula rasa*, as it were, as he did with the Offices for Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, he set about skilfully integrating it into the new liturgy he was creating. This effort required considerable ingenuity, as we shall see, and the finished product attests a deft touch.

One of the first decisions Adémar made was to retain many of the existing Proper tropes for Martial but to discard all five Proper chants. (See Table 3.3.) Table 3.3 gives the Proper chants of the episcopal form of Martial's Mass from sources produced at the abbey and other Aquitanian centres. The identity of the host chants that are normally troped, Introit, Offertory and Communion, is assured by their presence in the tropers from Saint Martial: *Statuit*, *Veritas* and *Beatus*, respectively. A marginal annotation in Pa 821, an eleventh-century sacramentary from Saint Martial, and the Masses for Saint Martial in the contemporary Aquitanian graduals not produced at Saint Martial, Pa 780, 903 and Lo 4951, suggest which responsorial chants, Gradual and Alleluia, would have been sung in the episcopal Mass at Saint Martial.[19] All these chants have firm associations with saints of the rank of confessor-bishop, and the Introit, Offertory and Communion, in particular, occur frequently in the Mass for saints of this rank in the Common of Saints.[20] Adémar chose, therefore, to dispense with all of them in order to free his new apostolic liturgy of their episcopal associations.

Simultaneously, Adémar determined to preserve the tropes, at least for the Introit and Offertory, from the episcopal Mass for Martial, even while discarding their host chants. This decision reinforces how important Proper tropes were in the Mass liturgy at Saint Martial. Their prominent place in the musical manuscripts from the abbey illustrates their stature.[21] Tropes for the Proper of the Mass stand first in Pa 1120, 1121, 909 and 1119, followed by tropes for the Mass Ordinary, and Proper tropes easily outstrip in quantity all other genres represented in these sources. But Adémar's decision to retain the tropes offers substantive and qualitative

music in Adémar's hand, fols. 28v-32v; printed in Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, nos. 139–58 pp. 209–21. On the relation between the versions of the troped Mass for Martial in Pa 1120 and 1121, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 54–57.

[19] On Pa 821, see Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, 1: no. 65 pp. 154–58. On Lo 4951, Pa 780 and 903, see Herzo, "Five Aquitanian Graduals," pp. 7–17, 17–30 and 30–43, respectively.

[20] See, e.g., *AMS*, nos. 170–71ter pp. 169–71.

[21] Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 4–6; Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine," Table 2, p. 257; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 32–35; and *idem*, "A New Voice," pp. 1026–27.

Table 3.3. *Proper chants in the episcopal Mass for Saint Martial*

Source	Introit	Gradual	Alleluia	Offertory	Communion
Pa 1240 fol. 36ra-va	Statuit			Veritas	
Pa 1120 fols. 46r-51v	Statuit			Veritas	Beatus
Pa 1121 fols. 28v-32v	Statuit			Veritas	Beatus
Pa 821 fol. 65v	Statuit	Ecce sacerdos	℣Iurauit dominus	Inueni dauid	Beatus
Pa 780 fol. 94r-v	Statuit	Iurauit dominus	℣Iurauit dominus ℣Tu es sacerdos ℣Amauit eum ℣Memento domini ℣Sacerdos tui	Veritas	Domine quinque
Pa 903 fol. 104v	Statuit	Iurauit dominus	℣Marcialis pontifex	Inueni dauid	Beatus
Pa 903 fols. 157v-158v	Statuit			Veritas	Beatus
Lo 4951 fol. 153v	Statuit	Iurauit dominus	℣Letabitur iustus ℣Plantatus in domo	Veritas	Domine quinque

justification for their eminence. They were simply too important, especially for the older monks of the abbey, to be abandoned in the apostolic liturgy for Martial, and they provided an essential link for Adémar between existing practice and the new liturgical order.

Perhaps the most important feature of the older tropes Adémar used is the fact that they specifically mention Martial and details of his biography. In particular, their texts make frequent geographic references to Limoges, Aquitaine and Gaul, and Martial is twice identified as the first person to have preached the doctrine of Christ and the Trinity in the West: "Primus in occiduis fidem sparsit trinitatis" ("He, first, spread the faith of the Trinity in the West") and "Primus et occiduum Christo generauit hic aruum" ("And he, first, created the Western field for Christ").[22] Therefore, although the Introit *Statuit* could be sung on the feast of any confessor-bishop, these tropes, on the other hand, were only suitable for Martial's liturgy: they particularized the host chants from the Common of Saints, and made them specific to his feast.

This characteristic of the tropes Adémar retained for the apostolic Mass stands in marked contrast to the generic texts in Pa 1240 that found double duty in the Masses for Martin and Martial. And, viewed from the opposite perspective, therefore, these tropes, because of their specificity to the Mass of Martial, do not carry associations with the cults of other saints, unlike their original host chants. This fact, together with the manifest importance of Proper tropes as a group for the liturgy at Saint Martial, prompted Adémar not only to retain them, but to place them prominently in the Mass liturgy. For Adémar created a massive troped Introit with ten troped iterations of the Introit antiphon, the first nine of which are followed by a verse, rounded with the Lesser Doxology and a final, untroped statement of the antiphon. And this extravagant musical statement apparently accompanied a grand procession at the opening of the Mass on 3 August 1029, at the cathedral of Limoges, that featured a display of the relics of Saint Martial.[23]

Adémar's decision to retain the tropes and discard their host chants severely restricted how he might replace the latter. Tropes customarily fit closely into the literary and musical contexts provided by their host chants.[24] Accordingly, tropes were composed with a single host chant in mind, which provided the grammatical frame for the literary text and the

[22] Edition I.3.A-H; the quotations occur in I.3.C and G, respectively.
[23] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 41–44; and "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 114–15, 117–18.
[24] Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 55–118.

modal environment of the tropes' melodies. Adémar, however, was faced with precisely the opposite set of circumstances. He was forced to match new host chants to the existing tropes. Under these conditions, it would have been difficult to accommodate the usual apostolic chants within the retained tropes. For example, the melody of the Introit for an apostle, *Mihi autem*, belongs to a different mode (mode 2) from that in which *Statuit* is classified (mode 1). More problematic, however, is the grammatical context of its literary text: the opening statement of *Mihi autem* speaks in the plural of the "friends" of God, whereas the beginning of *Statuit* focuses on the honouree of the feast, in the singular. Tropes composed for *Statuit*, therefore, do not easily fit with *Mihi autem*.[25]

Similarly, the Offertories commonly used in Masses for apostles do not create smooth joins with *Marcialem dominus*, the Offertory trope Adémar retains from the episcopal Mass. I define these Offertories as those which occur in Masses with the Introit *Mihi autem*; two fit this criterion in Aquitaine, *In omnem terram* and *Mihi autem*.[26] The latter is unsuitable to fit with the trope *Marcialem dominus*, because *Mihi autem* belongs to mode 3 whereas the trope falls in mode 2 and therefore a different tonality (protus tonality with a final of D as opposed to deuterus with a final of E for *Mihi autem* in mode 3). *In omnem terram* shares its mode with the trope (mode 2), but is usually transposed up a fifth to end on A, and so the trope would have to be transposed as well. Even if this were the case, the introductory trope would make an awkward connection with the opening of the Offertory: the trope ends on A, a fifth above the final, whereas the Offertory, in its transposed form begins on E, a fourth below the final.[27] The appropriate transposition of the trope would place these notes an octave apart.

Consequently, Adémar elected to compose new chants that create smooth connections with the existing tropes. Much as he did when composing tropes, Adémar tailored the beginning and end of each individual phrase of the newly composed host chants to make a smooth melodic transition from trope element to host chant and back to the next trope

[25] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 110–11.

[26] Pa 1132 gives the following Masses with the Offertory *In omnem terram*: Thomas (fol. 7r), Matthew (fol. 27r), Barnabas (fol. 79r) and James (fol. 85r-v). Masses with *Mihi autem*: Bartholomew (fols. 89v-90r) and Andrew (fol. 95v). The Mass for Simon and Jude (fol. 93v) uses *Constitues eos*, which is usually assigned to Saint Peter; see Pa 1240 fol. 36ra, Pa 1120 fol. 45r, Pa 1121 fol. 27v, Pa 909 fol. 41v, Pa 1119 fol. 53r, and Pa 1132 fol. 83v; see also the Mass for Saint Peter, *AMS*, no. 122 pp. 138–39. See also the Masses for Simon and Jude, *ibid.*, no. 160 pp. 162–63, *In omnem terram*; and Andrew, *ibid.*, no. 169 pp. 168–69, *Mihi autem*.

[27] Trope: Edition I.3.P. Offertory: *Offertoriale triplex*, no. 75 pp. 130–31.

element.[28] He treated the literary context in a similar fashion, integrating the text of the new host chant into the grammatical structure of the tropes. The compositional problem differs, however, from that faced by the composer of tropes, because Adémar elected to use eight pre-existing tropes for the Introit, each with its own grammatical and melodic context, and therefore posing unique problems for Adémar as he attempted to fit them with a single host chant.

Although all the retained tropes do not flow into Adémar's host chants with equal felicity, most form tolerable constructions with their adjacent phrase.[29] More important, however, and revealing of Adémar's working methods, is the fact that his new Introit, *Probauit eum*, is literally unintelligible without the accompanying tropes. In two places, the text of this Introit uses reflexive possessive adjectives in places where it can only refer grammatically to Martial as the subject of the verb in the trope. That is, if *Probauit eum* is sung alone, without tropes, its reflexive adjectives have no referent. The Introit only makes sense when sung with the tropes.[30]

The tropes that Adémar suppressed are equally revealing of his method because of their association with Martin. Already in Pa 1121, these tropes are deferred to the end of the series, suggesting that the principal scribe of that manuscript, Adémar's collaborator, was giving more weight to those tropes specific to the cult of Martial. Yet, they probably appeared in the Mass for Martial in the first layer of Pa 909, in the lost gathering E, which was replaced by a new gathering that contained the apostolic troped Mass for Martial and tropes for surrounding feasts.[31] And, as noted above, they form part of the greatly expanded Mass for Martin in the first layer of Pa 909. Their apparent presence in both Masses creates a palpable redundancy, and I know of no other of this scale in the trope repertory. Yet, if these tropes did originally occur in both places in Pa 909, their duplication reveals two interesting aspects of liturgical practice: the willingness of musicians to reuse pieces on more than one occasion; and, in regard to this manuscript, its dual allegiance to Saint Martin, the abbey for which it was destined, and Saint Martial, where it was produced.

The treatment of the tropes originally created for Martin in Pa 1121 and the second layer of Pa 909 contrasts markedly with that of earlier sources. What had apparently been a virtue for the monks who produced

[28] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 44–47. [29] Edition I.3.A-H.
[30] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 115–17.
[31] For my taxonomic reconstruction of the lost gathering E in Pa 909, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 64–68.

Pa 1240, and in Roger's generation when the scriptorium copied Pa 1120, became a liability for Adémar and his collaborator in the production of Pa 1121 after Roger's death. Tropes associated with Martin gave Martial's liturgy added dignity by linking him with a saint of distinction and widespread veneration. But as the monks at Saint Martial sought to create a liturgy that was more particular to their patron saint in Pa 1121, these associations lost their attraction; and, within Adémar's programme to establish Martial as an apostle, their unequivocal affiliation with the rank of confessor-bishop forced Adémar to discard them.

Once Adémar had selected the tropes he wished to retain for his apostolic liturgy, he then edited their texts, out of necessity in some cases, and to sharpen their rhetorical focus in others. Three of the Introit tropes, for example, use the noun *praesul*, with the meaning "bishop," a sign of their origin in the episcopal liturgy for Martial. Adémar replaced the now inappropriate term with the requisite forms of *apostolus*, *pastor* and *doctor*.[32] The first of these would clearly be Adémar's preferred reading, but, in the second and third tropes, *praesul* occurs as a bisyllabic nominative. Adémar elected not to disrupt the musical setting by substituting the quadrasyllablic *apostolus*, and so he sought other bisyllabic terms (*pastor* and *doctor*) that allowed him to preserve the melodic integrity of the trope and yet avoid identifying Martial as a bishop.

He employed the same strategy in the two existing prosae for Martial that he copied into Pa 909 as part of the apostolic liturgy, *Valde lumen* and *Alme deus*.[33] In three places in the former, Adémar replaced forms of *presul* with first *patronus* (stanza 8b), then *doctor* (stanza 9a) and finally *pastor* (stanza 10b); and in *Alme deus*, he substituted the phrase "idem patriarcha" (stanza 9a) for the original reading "uerendus pontifex," in all cases preserving the syllable count.[34] In Pa 1120, Adémar retrospectively revised the first two passages in *Valde lumen* (stanzas 8b and 9a) to avoid the episcopal references.[35]

[32] Edition I.3.B, E and G, respectively. See Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 62–63.

[33] Pa 909 fols. 75r-77v; Edition III.1.A and B.

[34] See *AH* 7: nos. 161 (*Valde lumen*) and 164 (*Alme deus*), pp. 177–79 and 181–82, respectively, which records Adémar's revision in *Alme deus* but not those in *Valde lumen*. The apparatus for *Alme deus* also misidentifies Pa 1120 as the witness that contains the further revision "uerendus apostolus," the reading of Pa 1137 fol. 84v; Pa 1120 fol. 128v reads "pontifex," with most of the sources.

[35] Pa 1120 fol. 126v. In stanza 8b, he inserts the reading "patroni," preserving the ending but not the case of the original reading "presuli"; he gives the correct reading, "patrono," in Pa 909. In stanza 9a, Adémar changes Pa 1120 to read "pastor," which is also preserved in several other manuscripts; see Edition III.1.A.

Elsewhere, Adémar modified the texts of the retained tropes to clarify their language and reinforce the claims for Martial's status as an apostle. The third element of the Introit trope *Marcialem prae secla* reads, in the episcopal version, "Lemouicam urbem tanto pastore perornans" ("Decorating the city of Limoges with so great a pastor"); Adémar replaces the opening phrase with "Galliam cunctam," thereby shifting Martial's sphere of influence from just the city of Limoges to all of Gaul.[36] Something more in the way of a correction occurs in the trope *Marcialis meritum*, in which the second and third elements begin, respectively, "Plebs aquitana" and "Lemouicae genti" in the episcopal version.[37] Adémar reverses the nouns, offering "Gens aquitana" and "Lemouicae plebi," and thereby underscoring the distinction between the two: *gens* carries the sense of "nation" and so corresponds more closely to a regional populace, like that of Aquitaine, while *plebs* refers to an urban population, as in the city of Limoges.

Finally, the first element of the Offertory trope *Marcialem dominus* originally ended by introducing the first phrase of the host chant with the expression "dauitice promens."[38] Adémar replaces the adverb "dauitice" with "prophetice," reflecting his change of the host chant from *Veritas*, which quotes Psalm 88.25 ("dauitice," "in the manner of David"), to his original composition *Diligo uirginitatem*, which paraphrases the prophet Isaiah 56.6–7. As in the case of the prosae for Martial in Pa 1120, Adémar retrospectively entered some of these textual revisions in the troped Mass in Pa 1121.[39]

Adémar's troped Mass for Martial, then, shows that he selected among the existing tropes with care and suppressed items, like the conventional Proper chants, that would have compromised the apostolic orientation of the liturgy. He also judiciously modified the texts of the retained items to improve their diction, acknowledge the source of a newly composed host chant (the adaptation of the text of the Offertory *Diligo* from the prophetic book of Isaiah), and reinforce the apostolic message of the Mass. The last two alterations, the inversion of *plebs* and *gens* in *Marcialis meritum* and the replacement of *dauitice* with *prophetice* in *Marcialem dominus*, reveal the level of detail involved in Adémar's adaptation of these texts. He not only reconfigured the older chants to become full participants in his attempt to validate Martial's apostolicity, but simultaneously, he also strengthened their rhetorical formulation.

[36] Edition I.3.B.

[37] Edition I.3.H. Most witnesses read "gentis," a clear error from the misconstruction of "Lemouicae" as a genitive. Adémar's correction, therefore, is grammatical in nature as well as lexical.

[38] Edition I.3.P.

[39] Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," pp. 79–81 and plate 10.

With the selection, adaptation and edition of the existing elements of the Mass finalized, Adémar then turned to the creation of new items to complete the whole. Above, I discuss his replacements for the Proper chants that are usually troped, Introit, Offertory and Communion. He also introduced, in the troped Mass, two responsorial chants familiar from the traditional liturgy for apostles, the Gradual *Constitues eos* and the *Alleluia ℣ Non uos me elegistis*. He had second thoughts on this choice, however, and, for the untroped version of the Mass, he composed two new pieces, the Gradual *Principes populorum* and the *Alleluia ℣ Beati oculi*, thus providing a complete group of Mass Propers.[40]

He also wrote several new tropes, most of which create dramatic emphasis at strategic moments in the Mass. The opening of the Mass reveals Adémar's technique of blending the familiar with the novel to create a striking effect. The first trope element is *Plebs deuota*, which opens the episcopal Mass for Martial in Pa 1120. Adémar thus assertively embraces the abbey's liturgical tradition, from which, just as assertively, he departs with the subsequent elements of the trope complex.[41] These are newly composed replacements for the elements that usually circulate with *Plebs deuota* and they immediately set the tone for the rest of the Mass. They introduce topics such as Martial's Jewish origins, his direct mission from God and his position on the apostolic summit, and thus, at the very outset of the Mass, adumbrate its essential rhetorical and theological programme. (I delete the phrases of the Introit antiphon, *Probauit eum*, that would have alternated with the tropes.)

> Ipse est Marcialis domini praecelsus alumnus,
> Hisraelis quem stirpe deus rex ipse uocauit,
> Culmine apostolico clarum quem misit in arua.
>
> (Martial himself is the very lofty pupil of the Lord, whom God, the king, himself called from the race of Israel, whom, famous in the apostolic summit, He sent into the fields.)

Even more dramatic are the two tropes Adémar composed for the end of the Introit, marking the arrival of the celebrant and, on 3 August 1029 when the Mass was inaugurated, the relics of Martial at the altar. The first

[40] *Constitues eos* and *Alleluia ℣ Non uos me elegistis*: Pa 909 fol. 46r, Edition I.3.L and M. *Principes populorum* and *Alleluia ℣ Beati oculi*: Pa 909 fols. 70v-71r, Edition II.9.B and C. Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," p. 107, particularly on the apostolic associations of the replacements in the troped Mass.

[41] Edition I.3.A.

of these two, *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus*, uses extravagant language to emphasize Martial's apostolic status, while the second, *Christi discipulus*, displays an extremely florid melodic vocabulary.[42] Adémar creates a different effect at the end of the Offertory, *Diligo uirginitatem*, which he closes with a newly composed trope. *Hic est Marcialis* is melismatic in texture but not to the same degree as the verse *Designatus a domino* that precedes it.[43] It functions, therefore, as a kind of dénouement for the conclusion of the Offertory as a whole, balancing the prolixity of the verse and returning to a texture more typical of the genre.

Several other newly composed items augment the solemnity of the Mass. Adémar provides a prosula and additional tropes for the Gloria, as well as introductory tropes for two sequentiae, one of which is an original composition of his.[44] And he concludes the Mass with a new trope for the Communion, *Agnus ait*, which replaces the trope *Hic dictis*, most commonly used for the Communion *Beatus seruus* in the episcopal liturgy for Martial.[45] Adémar deemed *Hic dictis* unsuitable because it occurs widely in the Mass for Martin. He solved the problem by suppressing both it and its host chant, and producing new compositions for the entire Communion complex. Original compositions, then, complement the existing items that surround them in the troped Mass for Martial, and fulfil a number of functions, including setting the rhetorical tone for the Mass, articulating dramatic moments and increasing the liturgical significance of the event.

A final indication of Adémar's painstaking revision of the Mass is his supplying a Tract as part of the untroped Mass for Martial. *Marcialem apostolum* uses a familiar mode 2 melody, best known with the text *Deus deus meus* for Palm Sunday, and is provided with the rubric "IN QVADRAGESIMA."[46] Yet none of the feasts for Martial that were celebrated during Adémar's lifetime falls in Lent, or any other penitential season, for that matter. Both the kalendar in Pa 1240 and the list of feasts in Pa 1085 include three observances for Martial: his principal feast and its Octave (30 June and 7 July, respectively), and what would come to be called the First Translation (10 October).[47] It would appear that Adémar

[42] Edition I.3.I-J. See Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 50–54; "A New Voice," pp. 1032–33; and "The Music is the Message," pp. 4–7.

[43] Edition I.3.P-Q. On the Offertory *Diligo uirginitatem* and its verses, see Grier, "The Music is the Message," pp. 7–13.

[44] Edition I.3.K, N and O.

[45] *Agnus ait*: Edition I.3.R. On *Hic dictis*, see above n. 9.

[46] Edition II.9.F.

[47] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 104–7; and *idem*, "The Divine Office," Appendix A, "Feasts and Rubrics in Paris, BNF lat. 1085," pp. 193–96. For a survey of the evidence for the various feast days of the saint, see Emerson, *An Edition*, pp. 18–25.

supplies the piece out of zeal to provide an utterly complete suite of items for Martial's liturgy, in the event some new and unforeseen observance for him will occur in a penitential season.

THE TROPED MASSES FOR AUSTRICLINIAN AND JUSTINIAN

Adémar adopted a significantly different strategy when he created troped Masses for Austriclinian and Justinian as part of the apostolic campaign for Martial. In both cases, he borrowed existing tropes from other feasts and, with a minimum of revision (by replacing proper names where required), simply assigned them to new saints. Both Austriclinian and Justinian were companions of Martial, and so their liturgies contribute to the apostolic cult. According to the hagiographic writing about Martial, Austriclinian, together with Alpinian, another companion, crossed the Alps with Martial on his mission to Limoges from Rome.[48] Although the narrative sources are not explicit on this point, Adémar clearly took Austriclinian to be a bishop, identifying him as such in the rubrics that introduce the troped Mass and the sequentia for him in Pa 909.[49]

Accordingly, it was entirely appropriate for Adémar to transfer two Introit trope complexes from the episcopal liturgy for Martial to Austriclinian's feast, complete with their usual host chant, *Statuit*, suitable here because of Austriclinian's status as a bishop.[50] They required no revision aside from replacing Martial's name in *Vt esset sacerdos* with Austriclinian's. This is precisely the approach used by the compilers of Pa 1240 and 1120 to create and amplify the liturgy for Martial by borrowing tropes created for Martin, as discussed above. And Adémar probably had the same motivation: to add lustre to the cult of a less well-known saint by borrowing tropes from the liturgy of a more prominent one. What Adémar eschewed in the creation of his apostolic liturgy for Martial he embraced to produce a troped Mass for Austriclinian.

The Mass for Justinian presented Adémar with a somewhat different problem. He again borrowed tropes from the liturgy of another saint, this

[48] *Vita sanctissimi Martialis apostoli* III, ed. Birch, pp. 361–62. See also C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 11 and 13, who confuses Alpinian and Austriclinian; and Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," pp. 37–46.

[49] Pa 909 fols. 59r, 121v; see Edition I.6.A and IXA.22.A. Some witnesses of the *Vita sanctissimi Martialis apostoli* identify Austriclinian and Alpinian as bishops, but this would seem to be a replacement for "disciples." See *Vita sanctissimi Martialis apostoli* III, ed. Birch, pp. 361–62, especially p. 361 n. 8, and p. 362 n. 2.

[50] *Inclitus hic rutilo* and *Vt esset sacerdos*. Pa 909 fol. 59r-v. Edition I.6.A and B.

time that of Saint Benedict, again without revisions other than to change the proper name. But unlike Austriclinian, whom Adémar wished to present as a bishop, Justinian's liturgical status was unclear: he died at the age of forty days, and so held no ecclesiastic office.[51] The Introit that served as host chant for these tropes, *Os iusti*, is conventionally associated with well-known saints of various ranks, including Saints Felix (confessor), Eusebius (bishop) and Odo (abbot), as well as Benedict, after whom the monastic order took its name.[52] In contrast with the Introit *Statuit*, which is inextricably linked with saints of the rank of confessor-bishop, *Os iusti* could function in the liturgy of any distinguished cleric. And again, this affiliation forms part of Adémar's strategy. He wishes to promote the cult of the relatively obscure Saint Justinian by assigning him not only an Introit that carries such eminent associations but also tropes familiar from the liturgy of the author of the Benedictine rule.

Both newly created troped Masses, then, derive their effect from the saints whose liturgy provided the borrowed chants. The stature of both Austriclinian and Justinian improves by virtue of their link with saints as distinguished as Martial (in the local context of Limoges) and Benedict (within the monastic community of Saint Martial). And so, Adémar supports his apostolic claims for Martial by elevating the status of these two among his companions.

THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE FOR MARTIAL

When Adémar came to transform the existing Office liturgy for Martial into part of his apostolic programme, he adopted a strikingly similar approach to that used in the adaptation of the episcopal Mass. As in the case of the Mass, the monks of a previous generation had created a patronal Office for Martial that largely consisted of items composed specifically for it. This situation prompted Adémar to retain as much of the existing Office as he could; again he sought to create a link between established practice and his new creation principally for the benefit of the older monks of the abbey. Unlike the host Proper chants of the Mass, however, the principal sung items of the Office did not carry liturgical associations that moved

[51] For his vita, see *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum*, I: no. CCXLI pp. 392–402, printed from Pa 5240 fols. 128v-139r. See also Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 72–74.

[52] Pa 1132 gives *Os iusti* in the following Masses: Felix (fol. 20r), Benedict (fol. 27v), Eusebius (fol. 87v), Yrieix (fol. 90r), Austriclinian (fol. 93r) and Odo (fol. 94v). See also the Masses for Felix, *AMS*, no. 20 pp. 26–27; Eusebius, *ibid.*, no. 139 pp. 150–51; Matthew, *ibid.*, no. 155 pp. 158–59; Menna and Martin, *ibid.*, no. 164 pp. 164–65.

beyond Saint Martial himself to a larger group of saints of the same rank. Consequently, very little material from the episcopal Office was actually suppressed by Adémar. Instead, he again carefully edited the chant texts for content, excising any references to Martial's holding the rank of bishop and strengthening the overall language of the Office.

Before considering Adémar's treatment of the principal sung items, however, we should note the way in which he handled three classes of material in Matins that are generic to the rank of the saint: the Psalms of the first two nocturns, the variable canticle of the third nocturn and the versicles with response that signal the end of the antiphonal chants in each of the three nocturns. In each case, Adémar followed the practice established in Pa 1085, namely by specifying the Psalms and versicles, but not the canticle in the third nocturn. These canticles are assigned to feasts in the sanctorale by rank and commonly occur at the end of psalters.[53] Codex Pa 1085 does not list them and so Adémar also omits the canticle to be sung in Martial's Office.[54] In contrast, both Pa 1085 and Adémar do specify the Psalms to be sung in the first two nocturns. Adémar lists the following: first nocturn, Psalms 18, 33, 44, 46, 60 and 63; second nocturn, Psalms 74, 95, 96, 97, 98 and 100, a typical sequence for the feast of an apostle.[55] Likewise, for most feasts, Pa 1085 provides the versicles that occur at the end of the antiphonal chants in each nocturn, and so Adémar includes those characteristic of the feast of an apostle: *In omnem terram*, *Constitues eos* and *Nimis honorati sunt*.[56]

Among the principal sung items, Adémar did suppress a handful of chants from the Office for Martial in Pa 1085, and changed the assignment of several others. A few of these chants earned their fate by virtue of being associated with other feasts and saints. Their suppression then caused

[53] See, e.g., the three fifteenth-century psalters from Saint Martial: Pa 774A fols. 77va-81rb, Pa 774B fols. 72vb-76vb, and Pa 774C fols. 39vb-42va. For a typical list, see Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, pp. 256–57.

[54] Curiously, Adémar does specify the canticle in the Office for Cybard (but not those for Valérie or Austriclinian) with the designation "BBB," signifying "Beatus uir," "Benedictus uir" and "Beatus uir" (Ecclesiasticus 14.22, 15.3–4 and 6; Jeremiah 17.7–8; and Ecclesiasticus 31.8–11, respectively), the usual canticle for a martyr or confessor (Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, p. 257). See Edition VIII.3. A, and Delisle, "Notice," plate VI (Pa 1978 fol. 102v), plates preceding p. 241.

[55] See Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, p. 261. In Harper's list of Psalms taken from the customary of Norwich, the third Psalm of the first nocturn is misidentified as Psalm 34, which is a misprint for Psalm 44 (see Tolhurst, ed., *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory Church of Norwich*, p. 227, which gives the Psalm incipit "Eructavit" of Psalm 44); therefore, the Norwich list agrees with Adémar's in toto.

[56] Edition II.2.1.G, 2.2.G, 2.3.B, respectively. See also *CAO*, 4: nos. 8097, 7994 and 8148, pp. 490, 480 and 495, respectively. They occur frequently in Pa 1085: e.g., in the feast of Saint Peter, fol. 75r-v.

Table 3.4. *Antiphons for the Little Hours in Pa 1085 and 909*

Hour	Pa 1085	In Pa 909	Pa 909	Source
Prime	Infunde precamur	suppressed	Sanctus Marcialis apostolus	Pa 1085 fol. 78r, added to 2nd Vespers in Octave for Martial
Terce	O quam clara est	antiphon ad cantica, Matins, 3rd nocturn	Venerandam	Magnificat antiphon, 1st Vespers
Sext	Ad sepulchrum	suppressed	O quam clara est	Terce
Nones	O beate Marcialis	suppressed	Instante uero	Pa 1085 fol. 77r, Lauds for Martial

Adémar to rearrange the assignments of existing chants to fill the gaps. For example, *Insignis preconiis*, the antiphon *ad cantica* in the third nocturn of Matins in Pa 1085, was also sung at Saint Martial on the feast of All Saints.[57] Adémar removed it from his apostolic Office (and assigned it to Terce in the Office for Austriclinian) not so much, I think, to avoid the association with All Saints, but rather to preserve a patronal Office of items composed specifically for Martial.[58] In any event, he replaced it with the antiphon *O quam clara est* (not without other associations itself[59]), which occurs in earlier versions of Martial's Office as the antiphon for Terce and the Benedictus antiphon in Lauds.[60] The reassignment of *O quam clara est* from Terce (or Lauds) to Matins caused something of a domino effect as Adémar then required *Venerandam*, the Magnificat antiphon from First Vespers, to do double duty both there and in Terce.[61]

The other little hours underwent similar transformations, as shown in Table 3.4. Adémar suppressed the remaining three chants from the episcopal version for the same reason: the antiphon for Prime, *Infunde precamur*, occurs elsewhere on the feast of Cyprian and Justina, while that

[57] Principal Office and Octave of Martial: Pa 1085 fols. 77r and 78r; Edition App.H.1 and 2. All Saints: Pa 1085 fol. 93v. See also *CAO*, 3: no. 3355 p. 286, where the monastic sources assign it to the feasts of Sebastian, Vincent and Denis.

[58] Austriclinian, Edition VII.4.A.

[59] The melody of *O quam clara est* is very similar to that of *O quam clarus est*, which occurs in Pa 1240 fol. 69r and Pa 1085 fol. 93v in the Office for All Saints, and, in Pa 1085 fol. 101r, as part of the Office for the Common of Martyrs. See Emerson, *An Edition*, pp. 38–42.

[60] Terce: Pa 1085 fol. 77r. Lauds: Pa 1240 fol. 66r. See Edition II.2.3.A and App.H.1.

[61] Edition II.1.A and 5.A.

for Sext, *Ad sepulchrum*, is sung on the feasts of Germain of Paris and Medard; and the chant for Nones, *O beate Marcialis*, is borrowed from the Office for Saint Denis (where it begins *O beate Dionysi*).[62] Again, Adémar seems to be more concerned to retain the integrity of the patronal Office than to avoid altogether the associations with other saints.

To fill these spaces, he enlists chants from elsewhere in the Office. Prime receives *Sanctus Marcialis apostolus*, which is added to Pa 1085 in a second hand (where its incipit is *Sanctus Marcialis pontifex*) at the end of Second Vespers for the Octave of Martial.[63] For Terce, Adémar supplies *Venerandam*, the Magnificat antiphon from First Vespers, as noted above, and, for Sext, *O quam clara est*, which occurs in Terce of the episcopal version, and which Adémar had already used as the antiphon *ad cantica* in the third nocturn of Matins, as mentioned above.[64] Therefore, the antiphons *Venerandam* and *O quam clara est* each appear twice in Adémar's apostolic Office. Finally, Adémar provides *Instante uero* for Nones; this chant belongs to Lauds of the principal feast of Martial in Pa 1085, but was replaced, together with the other four antiphons in the Office, by the corresponding items in Lauds of the episcopal Office for the Octave of Martial.[65] So, the Little Hours are completely revised by Adémar to use, as much as possible, chants composed specifically for Martial's patronal Office.

Other changes made by Adémar do not present obvious explanations for themselves. For example, as mentioned above, he moved the five antiphons from Lauds for the Octave of Martial to the apostolic Lauds and relegated the original chants for the principal feast to the category of "other antiphons" ("aliae antiphonae").[66] Neither set of texts is more appropriate than the other on doctrinal grounds, and, in any case, Adémar did not suppress the chants originally assigned to the principal feast; he simply moved them to the appendix of the Office. The chants from the Octave are all somewhat shorter than the corresponding items for the principal feast, but, in the context of Lauds, with its four intoned Psalms and one canticle, together with the Benedictus, the five antiphons

[62] *Infunde precamur*: Pia 65 fol. 407v; see CANTUS, *Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare 65*, p. 75. *Ad sepulchrum*: *CAO*, 3: no. 1252 p. 29. *O beate Dionysi*: Pa 1240 fol. 69r; Pa 1085 fol. 91v; see also *CAO*, 3: no. 3999 p. 364.

[63] Pa 1085 fol. 78r. See Edition II.4.A and App.H.2.

[64] *O quam clara est* in Sext: Edition II.6.A.

[65] Edition II.7.A and App.H.2.

[66] Antiphons for the principal feast, Pa 1085 fol. 77r: *Dilectus deo*, *De regis*, *Confortatus*, *Vir deo* and *Instante uero*; Edition App.H.1. Pa 909 fols. 72r-73r with rubric "aliae antiphonae"; Edition II.10. A-E. Antiphons for the Octave of Martial, Pa 1085 fol. 78r: *Cum oraret*, *Beatus presul*, *Quinto decimo die*, *Hoc audiens* and *Cumque aduenisset*; Edition App.H.2. Pa 909 fols. 68v-69v; Edition II.3.A-E. Emerson, *An Edition*, p. 45.

comprise a relatively small portion of the whole. And so by substituting shorter antiphons, even some that are shorter by an appreciable amount as Adémar has, one does not significantly shorten the Office.

Three further examples illustrate that Adémar's changes did not necessarily improve the language of the Office. He suppresses a verse from the responsory *Percepit itaque* in the first nocturn of Martins only to replace it with another (presumably newly composed) that contains precisely the same sentiment. The suppressed verse is given first below, followed by Adémar's replacement.[67]

Promiserat namque dominus dicens omnis qui reliquerit patrem aut matrem amoremque terrenum propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet et uitam aeternam et ideo reuertentibus ad propria parentibus.

(For indeed, the Lord had promised, saying each person who has abandoned his or her father or mother and earthly love because of my name will receive a hundredfold and eternal life, and likewise for the parents who are turning back to their own affairs.)

Relicto namque patre et terrenis desideriis, permansit cum domino, quem uocantem secutus est, et eius discipulatui indesinenter adhaerens.

(For indeed, when the father and earthly wants had been abandoned, he remained with the Lord, whom, while He called, he followed, even incessantly adhering to his discipleship.)

The new verse makes the narrative more particular to Martial, whereas the original verse has God addressing Martial but making a promise to everyone. Perhaps more important for Adémar is the biblical echo in the earlier verse, which paraphrases Matthew 19.29. As I discuss below, Adémar adds a second verse, usually biblical in origin, to each responsory in Matins. The resulting pairs of verses combine the added biblical verse with an existing verse drawn from Martial's biography. The added verse in this responsory, *Vos estis*, quotes Luke 22.28. So, Adémar may have omitted *Promiserat namque* to avoid using two biblical verses. Still, this substitution changes little.

Even more puzzling is the verse transmitted with the responsory *Peracto feliciter* in the episcopal version of the third nocturn in Matins. Again, the suppressed verse occurs first.[68]

Quoniam obediuit preceptis domini ac magistri sui dedit illi habere laudem in omnes gentes et ornauit coronam iusticiae.

[67] Edition II.2.1.J. Full text of *Promiserat namque*: Pa 1253 fol. 16v. *Relicto namque*: Pa 909 fol. 64r-v.
[68] Edition II.2.3.D. Full text of *Quoniam obediuit*: Pa 1253 fol. 20r. *Continuo lux magna*: Pa 909 fol. 67v.

(Since he obeyed the commands of his own Lord and Master, He permitted him to have praise in all peoples and He adorned him with the crown of justice.)

Continuo lux magna refulsit in eodem loco, quasi septimpliciter iubar solis ibi resplenduisset; dominus enim uenit ad eum sicut promisit.

(Continuously, the great light reflected in the same place, as if the sevenfold brightness of the sun had shone there; for the Lord came to him as He promised.)

Adémar replaces a statement about Martial's deserving praise and reward with a description of a visit to the saint from God. Although the two verses differ in content, their respective literary effect is virtually the same. It is true that the original verse is weak grammatically, as both finite verbs "obediuit" and "dedit" have different subjects without any expressed noun or pronoun in that function. But the language of Adémar's replacement is hardly distinguished, with the pedantic contrast in diction between *refulgeo* and *resplendeo* to express more or less the same action.

Clumsier still is the way the new verse echoes the respond, *Peracto feliciter*. I give the entire responsory in its apostolic guise, with both verses and *repetenda*.

Peracto feliciter cursu, sanctus dei apostolus Marcialis, hora migrationis eius, ut promiserat, uenit ad eum dominus, secumque carissimum suum cum caelicolis deduxit in caeleste regnum.

Versus Vt sedeat cum principibus cum principibus populi sui,

Vt promiserat, uenit ad eum dominus, secumque carissimum suum cum caelicolis deduxit in caeleste regnum.

Versus Continuo lux magna refulsit in eodem loco, quasi septimpliciter iubar solis ibi resplenduisset; dominus enim uenit ad eum sicut promisit.

Secumque carissimum suum cum caelicolis deduxit in caeleste regnum.

(When the course was faithfully completed – the holy apostle of God, Martial – at the hour of his migration, as He had promised, the Lord came to him, and with Him led His own dearest companion with the heavendwellers into the heavenly kingdom.

So that he would sit with the princes, with the princes of his own people,

As He had promised, the Lord came to him, and with Him led His own dearest companion with the heavendwellers into the heavenly kingdom.

Continuously, the great light reflected in the same place, as if the sevenfold brightness of the sun had shone there; for the Lord came to him as He promised.

And with Him led His own dearest companion with the heavendwellers into the heavenly kingdom.)

I pass over the solecistic nominative "sanctus dei apostolus Marcialis," from the respond, which never finds a finite verb whose subject it might become, to address the phrase "ut promiserat, uenit ad eum dominus," which Adémar echoes in his substitute verse, "dominus enim uenit ad eum sicut promisit." Aside from its prosaic language, Adémar's phrase actually replaces the phrase from the refrain it imitates in the larger structure of the responsory. When the refrain is repeated after the verse, it is always shortened by omitting its first section. Here, as happens sometimes, the refrain is progressively shortened; the *repetendum* after the first verse begins "Vt promiserat," while that following the second verse starts "Secumque carissimum suum." Thus, the second verse ends with a version of the phrase that would precede the second *repetendum* in the full form of the respond. This repetition is needless and inelegant as the passage it replaces from the respond, "ut promiserat, uenit ad eum dominus," had already been sung twice, once in the opening statement of the respond, and once in the first *repetendum*. Nothing seems to be gained by this replacement.

In the final case to be considered, we cannot discern Adémar's motive for suppressing the chant because it does not survive in complete form. For the first responsory in the third nocturn of Matins, Pa 1085 gives the incipit *Hodie beatus Christi miles* with the verse *Hodie insignes*. No other source known to me contains this piece. In Pa 1253, whose Office for Martial parallels that in Pa 1085 in almost all respects, the responsory *Virgo Valeria*, from the Office of Valérie, occupies this position.[69] Because of its obvious connections with Valérie, Adémar retains it for his patronal Office for her and does not use it in his apostolic Office for Martial.[70] But why did he also suppress *Hodie beatus Christi miles*? Its deletion occurred as part of the general revision of the responsories in the third nocturn of Matins, to which I shall return below. He eventually added two responsories that did not form part of the episcopal liturgy, and therefore, one or more of the existing responsories had to be omitted. Nevertheless, without the full text of *Hodie beatus Christi miles*, we cannot judge whether it was more deserving than the others of being suppressed.

[69] *Hodie beatus*, Pa 1085 fol. 77r. *Virgo Valeria*, Pa 1253 fol. 19r; Office of Valérie, Pa 1085 fol. 8r; see Edition App.H.3. In the Office for the principal feast of Martial in Pa 1085 fol. 77r, just after the rubric *AD CANTICA*, introducing the third nocturn, the principal scribe of the manuscript has written "III Virgo" (the melody of *Virgo Valeria* is in mode 3), perhaps indicating that this chant belongs to the third nocturn; see Edition App.H.1.

[70] Office of Valérie, Pa 909 fol. 80r; see Edition VI.2.2.J.

THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE FOR MARTIAL: RESPONSORIES AND VERSES

Some of Adémar's alterations affect the structure of the liturgical ceremony. For example, as noted above, Adémar provides each of the responsories retained from the episcopal version of Matins for Martial with a second verse. In Romano-Frankish usage, responsories customarily include a single verse, but liturgical convention at Saint Martial employed multiple verses to increase the solemnity of especially important feasts.[71] Adémar emphatically embraced this practice by supplying two verses for each responsory in Martial's Office to reflect his apostolic status in contrast with the Offices of Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, all saints of a lower rank in whose Offices the responsories each comprise one verse.[72]

In Matins for Martial, Adémar retains the verses found in the episcopal version of the Office, with the two exceptions noted above, the verse *Promiserat namque* in the responsory *Percepit itaque* and the verse *Quoniam obediuit* in *Peracto feliciter*. The retained verses all treat some aspect of Martial's biography. To these, he adds a second verse drawn from the Bible, specifically the Psalms, the Gospels (Matthew and Luke) and, in the first two responsories of the third nocturn, the historical book 1 Samuel.[73] The abbey's monks would have recognized these texts from their study of scripture and other liturgical assignments throughout the year. Those assignments, however, only rarely include responsory verses. In fact, only two of Adémar's biblical verses are used as verses with other responsories: *Non sunt loquelae* in the responsory *Instante uero* and *Nimis honorati sunt* in *O uere sanctum*.[74] On the other hand, those which are used as texts of liturgical chants in other genres (such as antiphons or the respond of a responsory) invariably occur in the Common of Apostles, or on the feasts of specific apostles or evangelists.[75] Thus, Adémar uses familiar texts in unfamiliar settings to supplement the apostolic Matins and simultaneously reinforce connections, however indirect because they cross generic lines, with the established liturgy of apostles.

[71] Grier, "The Divine Office," pp. 185–86.

[72] See Edition VI.2.1–2.3 (Valérie), VII.1.1–1.3 (Austriclinian), and VIII.1–3 (Cybard). One responsory in the Office for Valérie has two verses: *Sancta uirgo*, the last responsory in the third nocturn; see Edition VI.2.3.E.

[73] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 390–95.

[74] *Non sunt loquelae* appears as a verse with the responsories *Constitues eos*, *Ibant gaudentes* and *In omnem terram*; *Nimis honorati sunt* with the responsories *Constitues eos* and *Non sunt loquelae*. See Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," Table 3 pp. 392–93.

[75] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 391–93, especially Table 3 pp. 392–93.

Two of these added biblical verses require further comment. To the last two responsories of the second nocturn, *Beatissimus apostolus* and *O uere sanctum*, Adémar adds the verses *Probauit eum* and *Nimis honorati sunt*, respectively.[76] The former paraphrases Psalm 138.23–24, but, more important for Adémar's purposes, it is a virtual replica of the text of his newly composed Introit for Martial's apostolic Mass.[77]

Introit Probauit eum deus et sciuit cor suum; cognouit semitas suas; deduxit illum in uia aeterna, et nimis confortatus est principatus eius.

Responsory Verse Probauit eum deus, et cognouit semitas suas, et deduxit illum in uia aeterna.

Thus, the Introit antiphon and the responsory verse self-referentially reinforce the legitimacy of Adémar's newly composed apostolic texts. The last phrase of the Introit antiphon continues with a quotation from Psalm 138.17 ("et nimis confortatus est principatus eius"; "and his dominion is strengthened beyond measure"). This verse is the source of the Introit antiphon *Mihi autem*, the one commonly used for apostles, and for the verse added by Adémar to the last responsory of the second nocturn in the apostolic Matins for Saint Martial. The latter, therefore, refers to both Introits, the conventional one for apostles and that composed by Adémar for Martial.

Introit Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui, deus; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.

Responsory Verse Nimis honorati sunt amici tui, deus; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.

This verse, therefore, establishes links with the liturgy for apostles, not only with the Introit from the Mass, but also with a number of other genres, including the respond and responsory verse.[78]

Adémar's structural revisions of Matins most profoundly affected the responsories of the third nocturn.[79] I would suggest that this strategy was deliberate on his part. He leaves the first two nocturns of Matins largely unchanged from their episcopal form with the exception of the verses added to the responsories, as just described. Thus, the monks of Saint Martial would find themselves in familiar territory up to the end of the second nocturn. To begin the third nocturn, Adémar suppressed the first

[76] Edition II.2.2.J and K.
[77] On the paraphrase of Psalm 138.23–24, see Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 115–16; and "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 393–95.
[78] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," Table 3 pp. 392–93.
[79] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 395–97.

responsory, either *Hodie beatus Christi miles* or *Virgo Valeria*, the former for no discernible reason, as mentioned above. The second and third responsories then move up one position, and, as the third responsory, Adémar introduces *Ciues apostolorum* ℣ *Audite*, which normally forms part of Matins in the Common of Apostles.[80] To this item, Adémar adds a newly composed verse, *Beatus Martialis*, to bring it into line with the other responsories.

Beatus Marcialis spiritum sanctum accepit a domino potestatemque ligandi et soluendi, et ab ipso in mundum missus est.

(The blessed Martial accepted the holy spirit from the Lord, and the power of binding and releasing, and he was sent by Him into the world.)

This verse contains the key piece of evidence for Martial's apostolic status, namely, his acceptance of the "power of binding and releasing" from the Lord (i.e., Jesus). Jesus grants this power to Peter at Matthew 16.19, and to all the original twelve disciples at Matthew 18.18. In this verse, Adémar assigns it to Martial as well, to provide the definitive proof that he has achieved true apostolic status. By embedding this crucial text in the one complete item he brought over from the conventional liturgy for an apostle, *Ciues apostolorum* (as opposed to the texts he used for the additional responsory verses), Adémar hoped to establish the legitimacy of his apostolic claims.

Adémar then added, as the fourth responsory, a newly composed piece with, unusually for this Matins, a single verse: *Gloriosus est* ℣ *Multa pro Christi nomine*.[81] The texts, drawn from one of Adémar's sermons for the feast of Austriclinian, stress two important but subordinate doctrinal points.[82]

℟ Gloriosus est inter choros angelorum et martirum Marcialis apostolus Galliae, qui ita plantauit ecclesiam ut, cum ipse multa pertulerit in pace, tamen deficiens hanc in pace dimiserit.

[80] Edition II.2.3.E. Among the Aquitanian sources indexed by CANTUS (currently at http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus) see: Pa 1240 fols. 69r and 78r (Feasts of All Saints, and Philip and Jacob); Pa 1085 fols. 93v and 99r (Feast of All Saints and Common of Apostles); Tol 44.1 fols. 131r and 159r (Feast of All Saints and Common of Apostles); Tol 44.2 fol. 173v (Common of Apostles); the index to Tol 44.2 is published as CANTUS, *An Aquitanian Antiphoner*. See also *CAO*, 4: no. 6289 p. 74.

[81] Edition II.2.3.F.

[82] Sermon 3, Pa 2469 fol. 5r-v, gives a longer version. "Gloriosus est inter choros angelorum et martirum Marcialis apostolus Galliae, qui ita plantauit in occidente ecclesiam Christi, ut, cum ipse multa cruciatuum tormenta a paganis Galliae in corpore suo pertulerit, in pace, tamen deficiens Christi ecclesiam in pace dimiserit. Qui multa pro Christi nomine passus, calicem domini bibit, et amicus dei et appellatus et factus est." For the numbering of Adémar's sermons, see Delisle, "Notice," pp. 279–83. Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, col. 97A (Pa 5288 fol. 53vb), quotes the text of the responsory, omitting the phrase *inter choros angelorum et martirum*; discussed above in Chapter 2. See also Emerson, *An Edition*, p. 33, and no. 96 p. 57.

℣ Multa pro Christi nomine passus, calicem domini bibit et amicus dei appellatus est.

(℟ Glorious among the choirs of angels and martyrs is Martial, apostle of Gaul, who established the church in such a way that, when he himself had accomplished many things, dying in peace, he nevertheless left it in peace.

℣ After he suffered many things in the name of Christ, he drank from the chalice of the Lord and he was called the friend of God.)

The respond extends Martial's authority to the whole of Gaul, while the verse situates him at the Last Supper, drinking from the "chalice of the Lord." By placing these subsidiary issues in this newly composed piece, Adémar lends greater rhetorical emphasis to the appearance of the chief doctrinal matter, the power of binding and releasing, in the preceding responsory, *Ciues apostolorum*, the one item that is borrowed from the standard liturgy for an apostle.

Adémar ends the third nocturn by retaining the existing final responsory of Matins, *O princeps*, to which he prefixes an elaborately melismatic introduction with the undistinguished text "O sancte dei apostole."[83] It adds little to the apostolic argument, but the florid melodic setting performs much the same function as the added verse in *Ciues apostolorum*: by supplementing a familiar item with new material, Adémar subtly transforms the received version of Martial's Office into a new Office worthy of an apostle. No segment of this Office is altered to a greater degree than the third nocturn of Matins, and thus, Adémar rhetorically enhances his advocacy for Martial's apostolicity. He establishes, in the first two nocturns, firm links between the existing episcopal liturgy and its new apostolic form; then, he blends yet more items retained from the older Office with a piece borrowed from the conventional liturgy for an apostle and newly composed material to create a new confection that unequivocally asserts the legitimacy of Martial's apostolic status.

THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE FOR MARTIAL: TEXTUAL REVISIONS

As with the tropes he retained from the episcopal liturgy, Adémar altered the texts of many of the chants he borrowed from Martial's episcopal Office. Several of the modifications pertain, predictably, to Martial's rank. Table 3.5 shows the variety of terms used to characterize Martial in the episcopal Office, and how Adémar replaced them. *Antistes*, *pontifex*

[83] Edition II.2.3.G.

Table 3.5. *Martial's rank in chants of the Divine Office*

Episcopal Office	Apostolic Office	Incipit	Genre	Edition
antistes	apostolus	Regem omnipotentem	invitatory	II.2.A
		Praecepit autem	responsory	II.2.2.I
		O uere sanctum	responsory	II.2.2.K
pontifex	apostolus	Memorabilis et laude digna	responsory	II.2.3.C
		Peracto feliciter	responsory	II.2.3.D
		Sanctus Marcialis apostolus	antiphon	II.4.A
		Instante uero	antiphon	II.7.A
presul	apostolus	Beatissimus apostolus	responsory	II.2.2.J
		Beatus apostolus	antiphon	II.3.B

and *presul* all carry the meaning "bishop," of course, and Adémar replaces them with the appropriate form of *apostolus* in each case.[84] Unlike his custom in revising the tropes and prosae of the Mass, however, he proceeds irrespective of syllable count, presumably adjusting the melody where necessary to accommodate the extra syllables of *apostolus*.[85] In two other chants, Adémar replaces *presul* with other language. The verse of the final responsory in the third nocturn of Matins, which begins, in Pa 909, *O sancte dei apostole*, contains the phrase "gemma presulum" ("gem of the bishops"); Adémar replaces it with the adjective "gloriosus," which fits well with the immediately following phrase, "in conspectu domini" ("glorious in the sight of the Lord").[86] The Magnificat antiphon for Second Vespers, *O princeps patrum*, uses a similar phrase, "speculum presulum" ("mirror of bishops"), for which Adémar substitutes "uirtutum" ("mirror of strengths" or "virtues").[87] Again, the syntax suggests the solution for the untenable reading.

He also adds the designation *apostolus* in two places where no mention of rank occurs in the episcopal form of the chant. As mentioned above, the final responsory of Matins opens with a newly composed introduction whose text is "O sancte dei apostole," and the Benedictus antiphon of Lauds, *O magnum primatem*, originally included the phrase "ineffabilem Marcialem sanctissimum" ("the ineffable and most holy Martial"), which Adémar amends by replacing the superlative with "apostolum" ("the

[84] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," p. 395.
[85] I presume this to be the case because no neumed example of the episcopal version of the chants listed in Table 3.5 survives, to the best of my knowledge.
[86] Edition II.2.3.G. [87] Edition II.8.B.

ineffable apostle Martial").[88] These modifications, as is apparent, do not address doctrinal deficiencies in the original texts of these chants, but instead increase the intensity of the rhetoric with which Adémar presents the apostolic case. And both chants occur at strategic points in their respective Offices: they close Matins and Lauds, respectively. Adémar, therefore, chose key moments, when the attention of those in attendance might be slightly greater in anticipation of the end of the Office, for these revisions.

Adémar also alters the geographical terms of reference used in the Office chants, as he did in the trope texts. In three texts, Adémar widens Martial's sphere of activity from Limoges to Aquitaine: the invitatory *Regem omnipotentem*, and the antiphons *Sanctus Marcialis ad praedicandum* and *Beatus Marcialis*.[89] Similarly, he replaces the noun "ciuitas" ("city") in the antiphon *Haec regio cunctorum* with the term "regio" ("region"), and he corrects the phrase "aquitana plebs" in the responsory *O uere sanctum* by substituting the noun "gens," as he did in the trope *Marcialis meritum*, to reflect the idea of a regional rather than an urban population.[90] Finally, Adémar adds geographical precision to an admonition of Saint Peter to Martial in the antiphon *Ne differas*. In the episcopal version, Saint Peter says, "Ne differas . . . quantotius properare" ("May you not delay in hastening as quickly as possible"), in which Adémar replaces "quantotius" with the phrase "ad Galliam" ("to Gaul").[91] All these changes give Martial a geographical locus of activity that is more in keeping with an apostle than a bishop.

Furthermore, Adémar changes details in the diction of several Office texts to strengthen their rhetorical effect, again adopting a similar strategy to that which he used with the tropes. He replaces commonplace words and phrases with more striking expressions that often move the frame of reference from the more general to the more specific. For example, in the responsory *Venerandam*, he changes the prosaic "Venerandam presentis diei sollempnitatem . . . celebremus" ("Let us celebrate the solemnity, which must be venerated, of the present day") to "discipuli domini sollempnitatem" ("the solemnity of the disciple of the Lord") in order

[88] Edition II.2.3.G and II.3.G, respectively.

[89] Edition II.2.A, 2.1.A and 2.2.F, respectively. In *Sanctus Marcialis ad praedicandum*, the original phrase reads "delegatus lemouicis ciuibus" ("delegated to the citizens of Limoges"), which Adémar modifies with "Aquitaniae prouintiae" ("delegated to the province of Aquitaine"); similarly, *Beatus Marcialis* included the phrase "ad urbem lemouicam" ("to the city of Limoges"), which Adémar changes to "in Aquitaniam" ("into Aquitaine").

[90] *Haec regio cunctorum*, Edition II.2.1.B; *O uere sanctum*, II.2.2.K (see also Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," p. 395); *Marcialis meritum*, I.3.H and above.

[91] Edition II.2.1.D. "Quantotius" is a hypercorrection for "quantocius."

to articulate the focus of the celebration on Martial.[92] Elsewhere, Martial consecrates ("sacrauerat") an oratory in the apostolic version, instead of constructing ("construxerat") it in the original text.[93] One final modification provides greater grammatical clarity. The responsory *Peracto feliciter* closes with the phrase "dominus . . . deduxit in caelestibus" ("the Lord led him in heavenly places"), in which Adémar replaces the ablative "caelestibus" with the accusative "in caeleste regnum" ("into the heavenly kingdom"), a more suitable construction with the verb of motion *deduco*.[94]

Simultaneously, Adémar pursues two strategies in his revisions to the texts of the Office chants that he did not employ in the retained tropes for Martial's Mass, largely because these issues did not arise in those texts. They pertain to the rank of other saints associated with Martial, and contribute in a general way to the case for Martial's apostolicity. In the first instance, Adémar modifies references to Martial's companions Alpinian and Austriclinian to avoid assigning them the rank of priest. As I discuss above in regard to the troped Mass for Austriclinian, Adémar clearly wished these two figures to be recognized as bishops, even though he was reluctant to name them as such in the chant texts.

Nevertheless, he does suppress any reference to them as priests, as the text of the antiphon *Vnus e comitibus* shows. There, Austriclinian is identified as *sacerdos* in the clause "quo uiso sacerdoti regressus est Romam" ("and when the priest [Austriclinian] was seen, he [Martial] returned to Rome"). Adémar simply omits the noun "sacerdoti," and replaces it with the nominative "homo dei" ("man of God"), which refers to Martial: "and when he was seen, the man of God returned to Rome."[95] Similarly, the verse *Cum duobus* in the responsory *Praecepit autem* characterizes both Alpinian and Austriclinian as "presbyteris" ("priests"), which Adémar replaces with "electis" ("elected"), implying the status of bishop.[96] Their elevation in status, at least from that of priest if not to that of bishop, reflects back on Martial's rank.

[92] Edition II.2.1.H.

[93] Antiphon *Vir deo plenus*; Edition II.10.D. Other examples: in the responsory *Peracto feliciter* (II.2.3.D), "seruum suum bonum" ("his own [i.e., the Lord's] good servant") becomes "carissimum suum" ("his own dearest"); in the responsory *O sancte dei apostole* (II.2.3.G), "Persistens" ("persistent") becomes "Praefulgens" ("shining forth"); and in the antiphon *De regis aeterni* (II.10.B), "singulari" ("singular") becomes "praeclara" ("outstanding").

[94] Edition II.2.3.D.

[95] Edition II.2.2.A. The passages in hagiographic sources on which the text of this chant is based are silent on Austriclinian's rank; see Emerson, *An Edition*, pp. 27–28, citing *L'ancienne vie de Saint Martial*, ed. Bellet, p. 37; and *Vita sanctissimi Martialis apostoli* III, ed. Birch, p. 362.

[96] Edition II.2.2.I.

More telling is Adémar's treatment of the relationship between Saint Peter and Martial. The trope texts do not discuss Peter's role in sending Martial to Limoges, although Adémar does refer to their kinship in a trope of his composition, in which he names Peter obliquely as the "keybearer of heaven" ("clauigero caeli").[97] The texts of the chants in the first two nocturns of Matins, however, do treat the nature of Martial's mission to Aquitaine and Peter's active participation in its planning and execution. Adémar has one specific goal in making these revisions, and that is to present Martial as Peter's equal in status as apostle. First, Adémar replaces the non-specific terms *socius*, *frater* and *discipulus* with either the appropriate proper name or the term *apostolus*.[98] And in three places, he adds the proper name Peter where it does not appear in the episcopal versions in order to reaffirm his presence and role in the narrative.[99]

Two of the last cited texts add Peter's name to the same phrase, in which he commands Martial to depart for Limoges: "apostolicis parens deuotus imperiis" ("devotedly obeying the apostolic commands").[100] In both texts, Adémar replaces "apostolicis" with "apostoli Petri," as noted above, but continues by changing "imperiis" to "consiliis": "apostoli Petri parens deuotus consiliis" ("devotedly obeying the advice of the apostle Peter"). One might question whether advice can be obeyed rather than followed, but Adémar clearly suppresses the idea of Peter's issuing instructions to Martial.[101] A similar modification occurs in the antiphon *Hoc autem factum est*, which contains the clause "beati Petri fides claresceret imperantis" ("the faith of the blessed Peter might become clear while he was commanding"); Adémar replaces the participle "imperantis" with "exhortantis," and Peter now urges or exhorts Martial instead of commanding him.[102] These revisions establish that Martial's status equals that of Peter in the ranks of the apostles.

[97] Trope *Sanctus Marcialis*, Edition I.3.I; see Grier, "A New Voice," p. 1033.

[98] In the antiphon *Quam cernens Christus* (Edition II.2.1.C), "socium," referring to Martial, is replaced by "apostolum;" in the antiphon *Ne differas* (II.2.1.D), "frater" is replaced by "Petrus"; and in the antiphon *Vnus e comitibus* (II.2.2.A), "Cristi discipulo" is replaced by "Petro apostolo."

[99] In the antiphon *Tunc sanctus Marcialis* and the verse *Diuino quidem* of the responsory *Beatissimus apostolus* (Edition II.2.1.E and 2.2.J, respectively), "apostolicis" is replaced by "apostoli Petri"; and in the responsory *Instante uero* (II.2.2.H), "Petrus" is added to the clause "uenerunt Romam princeps apostolorum Petrus et condiscipulus eius Marcialis" ("to Rome came the prince of the apostles Peter and his co-disciple Martial").

[100] The antiphon *Tunc sanctus Marcialis* and the verse *Diuino quidem* of the responsory *Beatissimus apostolus* (Edition II.2.1.E and 2.2.J, respectively).

[101] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," p. 395.

[102] Edition II.2.2.E.

Finally, in the episcopal versions of two further chants, Peter gives Martial commands, for which Adémar adopts a different strategy from that exhibited in the items discussed previously. In both cases, he alters the text to make Christ, not Peter, the one commanding Martial. He simply replaces the phrase "Petro apostolo" with "domino Hiesu Christo" as subject of the participle "iubente" ("commanding") in the antiphon *Sanctus Marcialis ad praedicandum.*[103] The antiphon *Quam cernens Christus* required more extensive modification as I show here.[104]

Quam cernens sanctus pontifex tanto sacrilegio subiacere, ad praedicandum dominum Ihesum Christum electum misit hunc Marcialem socium.

(And the holy pontiff, seeing that it [Gaul] was subjected to so great a sacrilege, sent this Martial, his companion, as his elected to preach the Lord Jesus Christ.)

Adémar first substitutes "Christus dominus" ("the Lord Christ") for the original subject of the sentence "sanctus pontifex" ("holy pontiff"), thus making Christ the one who sends Martial to preach. But then Adémar wishes to avoid the redundancy of having "the Lord Christ" send Martial to preach "dominum Ihesum Christum" ("the Lord Jesus Christ"), and so he changes that reading to "diuinum uerbum suum" ("His own divine word"), with the reflexive possessive adjective "suum" referring back correctly to the subject of the sentence. Lastly, as noted above, Adémar replaces the rather flat "socium" ("companion") with "apostolum," denoting Martial's saintly rank.

Quam cernens Christus dominus tanto sacrilegio subiacere, ad praedicandum diuinum uerbum suum electum misit hunc Marcialem apostolum.

(And the Lord Christ, seeing that it [Gaul] was subjected to so great a sacrilege, sent this apostle Martial as his elected to preach his own divine word.)

These last revisions reaffirm Martial's status as an apostle: not only does he share the rank with Saint Peter, but, like the other canonical apostles, he is also a direct representative of Jesus. So, Adémar chose, arranged and revised items from the existing episcopal Office for Saint Martial to maintain a strong link with the liturgical traditions at the abbey while simultaneously creating a persuasive case for Martial's apostolic status. All modifications are not uniformly felicitous, such as the verse *Continuo lux* he added awkwardly to the responsory *Peracto feliciter*. Nevertheless, the apostolic form of the Office demonstrates considerable rhetorical skill (in the way, for example, Adémar blends materials from the conventional

[103] Edition II.2.1.A. [104] Edition II.2.1.C.

liturgy for an apostle with the existing Office for Martial) and great attention to detail, as in the revisions to the antiphon *Quam cernens Christus* that offer evidence of direct communication between Martial and Jesus. This is a work that required effort and equal portions of liturgical, literary and rhetorical sophistication.

MINOR CHANTS OF THE OFFICE: VERSICLES, SHORT RESPONSORIES AND THE *BENEDICAMUS DOMINO*

Adémar's zeal for detail in the apostolic Office extended to the lesser chants that punctuate the Office. For the versicle and response that follow the last antiphon in each nocturn of Matins, Adémar specified that the items normally sung in the Office of an apostle be used, as discussed above. He also provided the short responsory to be sung after the chapter in Lauds, apparently borrowed from the episcopal Office.[105] Adémar emulated Pa 1085 in indicating the chants to be sung in these places, although, unlike that source, Adémar wrote out the responsory for Lauds in full. Further, he closed Lauds with an elaboration on the dismissal formula *Benedicamus domino*.

In an appendix to the Office, he supplements this selection of minor chants with additional items for the first two of these categories, as well as the versicle that usually follows the short responsory in Lauds and Vespers, which does not appear in the main body of the Office. The chants in the appendix all seem to be newly composed, as no other source for them exists, to the best of my knowledge, and they illustrate Adémar's strategy (like the superfluous Tract in the apostolic Mass) in that he wished to leave no aspect of the Office to chance. Where he duplicates items, namely, the three versicles and responses for Matins and the short responsory for Lauds, he seems to be providing alternatives for the existing items that Adémar specifies in the principal corpus of the Office, alternatives whose texts are more specific to Martial.

Two of these chants, the first of the versicles for Matins and the responsory for Lauds, use the same text, adapted from that of the first antiphon of Lauds, *Cum oraret beatus Marcialis*. The text of the antiphon is, in turn, an adaptation of a passage in the *Vita prolixior* of Martial.[106]

[105] *Sanctus Marcialis minister*, Edition II.3.F. Pa 1085 gives the incipit *Sanctus Marcialis Christi* in Lauds and *Sanctus Marcialis ut supra* in Second Vespers of the Office for Martial (App.H.1), and so its identification with the chant specified by Adémar is unsure.

[106] Antiphon, Edition II.3.A; based on *Vita sanctissimi Martialis apostoli* XV, ed. Birch, p. 385 (see Emerson, *An Edition*, pp. 28–29). Versicle, II.10.H; responsory, II.10.L.

Antiphon Cum oraret beatus Marcialis, apparens dominus ei, dixit, pax frater tibi sit carissime; gaudens, eris mecum in splendore magno.

(Because the blessed Martial prayed, the Lord, appearing to him, said, "Peace be with you, dearest brother; rejoicing, you shall be with me in great splendour.")

Versicle and *Responsory* Cum oraret beatus Marcialis, apparuit ei dominus Ihesus Christus.

(Because the blessed Martial prayed, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him.)

The second of the Matins versicles quotes the second half of the antiphon.[107]

Versicle Pax frater tibi sit karissime; gaudens eris mecum in splendore magno.

(Peace be with you, dearest brother; rejoicing, you shall be with me in great splendour.)

All these texts would carry specific resonances for those familiar with the traditional liturgy for Martial because of their close affiliation with the antiphon, which formed a part of it.

Of the versicles printed in *Corpus antiphonalium officii* that exhibit the form versicle with response (the form of the versicles in Matins, Lauds and Vespers), only three carry specific language for the saint on whose feast the item was to be sung.[108] Two occur on the feast of Saint Peter and one on that of Saint John the Evangelist.[109] The practice of composing such pieces, therefore, is late, not widespread and restricted to two widely venerated saints in the Latin West. Adémar would seem to be making a radical departure from established practice in creating specific pieces for Martial in this genre, thereby insisting on the use of such pieces even at those points of the Office where the most generic texts occur.

On the other hand, the third versicle for Matins and that for Lauds and Vespers use texts that are general and descriptive in nature.[110]

Domine, uidens faciem tuam, ita laetus sum effectus quasi a sepultura fueris suscitatus.

(Lord, seeing your face, I am rendered as joyful as if you will have been roused from your tomb.)

[107] Edition II.10.I.

[108] The versicles are included in *CAO*, 4: nos. 7922bis-8247 pp. 473–504.

[109] Peter: *Solve, jubente Deo* and *Tu es Petrus*, *CAO*, 4: nos. 8200 and 8227 pp. 500 and 503, respectively. Saint John: *Valde honoratus*, *CAO*, 4: no. 8230 p. 503. All three versicles are found in Hesbert's manuscript S (Lo 30850), while *Valde honoratus* also occurs in R (Zü 28) and L (Ben 21). These manuscripts range in date from the eleventh (Lo 30850) to the thirteenth century (Zü 28).

[110] Edition II.10.J and K, respectively.

Sanctissime pater, in Christo nos tu genuisti.

(Holiest Father, in Christ you have begotten us.)

Nevertheless, as unspecific as these texts are in comparison with the other three, they still convey the notion that they are particular to Martial's feast because they occur on no other feast.

Adémar extends this level of control even to the chant whose text is so formulaic as to carry no associations whatsoever with any feast, the dismissal formula for the Office, *Benedicamus domino*. The complete text of this chant is simply "Benedicamus domino," sung by the soloist, to which the chorus replies "Deo gratias" ("Let us bless the Lord; thanks be to God"). The melody is often drawn from a Proper chant for the feast, usually one of the responsories, and so it provides a musical reference back to the Office of which it forms a part.[111] This *Benedicamus* melody does not appear to be based on any of the responsories in the Office for Martial.

Sometime in the eleventh century, Aquitanian monks began to compose textual elaborations on the formula, often with specific reference to the feast on which it was sung; these are usually called *Benedicamus* tropes.[112] Adémar's piece for the Office of Martial, then, is one of the earliest of its type. Its text agrees with convention, if it does not in fact create the convention, by referring to Martial's biography; like those of a similar age in Pa 887 but unlike the twelfth-century examples of the genre, it expands the choral response, "Deo gratias," as well as the initial solo statement.[113]

Benedicamus dei filio in Marciale, discipulo suo, pangentes laudes domino.

Deo magistro haesit in terra, tribu Beniamin exortus praeclara. Agamus Christo gratias.

(Let us bless the son of God through Martial, his disciple, singing praises to the Lord.

He who rose from the very famous tribe of Benjamin clung to God, his master, on earth. Let us give thanks to Christ.)

[111] On the *Benedicamus domino* in general, see Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory," 1:5–93; and Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*."

[112] Pa 887 fols. 45v-46v contains a group of *Benedicamus* tropes, including one, *Benedicamus Ihesu Christo Marcialis* (fol. 46v), for Martial; see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 181; *L'école*, pp. 99 and 282; and Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory," 1:23–25. On *Benedicamus* tropes in general, see Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique*, pp. 180–83; and Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 275–85. Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:22–26, prefers the term *Benedicamus domino* uersus for the twelfth-century examples of the genre because of the similarity, both musical and literary, between these pieces and the contemporary lyric uersus.

[113] Edition II.3.H. See also Chailley, *L'école*, p. 282.

Adémar achieves a number of goals by creating this series of minor pieces. They carry unique associations with Martial, either because of their textual content or because they occur on no other feast, and thus, they elevate the solemnity of the saint's liturgy by their very specificity. Simultaneously, Adémar extends his control over the items to be sung on the feast to those pieces that the cantor would be most likely to supply with standard or generic selections. Such would be the case for the versicles, which are at least specific to the rank of the saint, but especially for the *Benedicamus*, which usually bears no association with any feast whatsoever. This selection of minor pieces, then, reveals the attention Adémar gives to some of the finer details of the liturgy.

RESPONSORIAL TONES

The verses of responsories are usually sung to formulae determined by the mode of the refrain.[114] Adémar wrote out the text of the verses in full, again in agreement with Pa 1085, and provides complete neumation of the responsorial tone with the occasional exception of the last word or two. He was obligated to give the full texts: some of the verses are new compositions, others adaptations of biblical verses not conventionally used as responsorial verses, and many of the existing verses are revised to form part of the apostolic liturgy, as discussed above. He could not, then, have abbreviated the texts without compromising their role in the apostolic rhetoric.

The neumations, however, constitute a different matter. The elite singers at Saint Martial would have had a thorough knowledge of the tones because of their daily repetition during Matins, further reinforced by their formulaic content. In addition, the singers could refer to Pa 1085 for the melodies, along with two tonaries produced at Saint Martial, each with music copied by Adémar. These latter transmit sample applications of the tones for each mode to the text of the Lesser Doxology.[115] Why, then, did Adémar provide full neumations of these very familiar tones for each verse of the responsories in Matins of the Offices of Martial, Valérie, Austriclinian

[114] Frere, ed., *Antiphonale sarisburiense*, pp. 3–5; Wagner, *Einführung*, 3: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, pp. 188–216; Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana*, 1:265–83; Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 234–41; and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 65–66.

[115] Pa 1121 fols. 202r-205v, and Pa 909 fols. 251v-254v. The tones in the former are transcribed in Russell, "The Southern French Tonary," pp. 222–32; in the latter, Edition App.E.1.A-H. The tone given for mode 2 in Pa 1121 fols. 202v-203r (Russell, "The Southern French Tonary," p. 224) does not correspond to that given in Pa 909 fol. 251v (App.E.1.B); it opens like the solemn tone for the Magnificat and other canticles (Pa 909 fol. 254v; App.E.2.B), but varies thereafter.

and Cybard? The answer, I believe, relates directly to his motivation for providing the minor chants of the Office, as discussed above: he wished to control every detail of this liturgy. In the case of the responsorial verses, this control extends to the application of the formulaic tones to the verses.

There could naturally be some flexibility in the way the tones relate to the text of the verse. One of the responsories in the Office for Valérie, *Virgo Valeria*, in mode 3, appears in both Pa 1085 and Adémar's autograph in Pa 909 with complete neumation for the verse *Haec enim*.[116] Example 3.1 gives the version from Pa 909 with the variants in Pa 1085 entered on the lower staff. As we have seen in the comparison of variants in the trope tradition made in Chapter 2 above, liquescence seems to have been applied in the tone at the discretion of the scribe. Codex Pa 1085 introduces a liquescent to aid in negotiating the pronunciation of the consecutive letters *m* and *n* in the phrase "proprietate*m n*ominis," while Adémar has again treated the first two letters of "eius" as a diphthong. One other variant, which occurs twice on "dicebatur" and "disposuit," involves the use or avoidance of a repeated pitch. Finally, Pa 1085 marks two lesser grammatical articulations, the genitive "uirginitatis suae" and the conjunction "et," with binary neumes where Pa 909 has single *puncta*. The two versions, thus, vary only slightly, largely, one would presume, because of the formulaic nature of the tone. Still, by writing the tone out in full for each verse of each responsory, Adémar wished to control even this small level of variation.

A comparison of the tone used for the verse *Haec enim* with the sample given in the tonary of Pa 909 for mode 3, however, reveals another aspect of Adémar's treatment of these formulae. Example 3.2 gives the final cadence of the sample and the version shared by Pa 1085 and 909.[117] The principal difference lies in the curtailment of the setting for the penultimate syllable of text in *Haec enim*. It is possible that this alteration may have been motivated by the textual accentuation; the final accent falls on the antepenultimate syllable in the verse ("uidéntibus," proparoxytone) as opposed to the penultimate syllable of the Lesser Doxology ("ámen," paroxytone). W. H. Frere notes, however, in his discussion of responsories and their verses, that the final cadence of the tone remains the same regardless of accentuation.[118]

[116] Pa 1085 fol. 8r (Edition App.H.3); Pa 909 fol. 80r (VI.2.2.J).
[117] Tonary in Pa 909 fol. 252v, Edition App.E.1.C. *Haec enim* as in note 116 above.
[118] Frere, ed., *Antiphonale sarisburiense*, p. 3. Also Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 238–39; and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 66. On the question of accentuation alone, Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana*, 1:275–79.

Example 3.1. Verse *Haec enim* of responsory *Virgo Valeria* Pa 909 fol. 80r, Pa 1085 fol. 8r

Pa 909 Haec e- - - nim_____ quae, se- cun- dum

Pa 1085

Pa 909 pro- pri- e- ta- tem no- mi- nis, ua- lens ui-

Pa 1085

Pa 909 ri- bus, di- ce- ba- - - - tur__ uir- gi-

Pa 1085

Pa 909 ni- ta- tis su- ae flo- rem de- o uo-

Pa 1085

Pa 909 ue- re, dis- po- su- - - it__ et i- -

Pa 1085

In fact, accentuation has nothing to do with the choice of cadence, as Adémar's neumation of the responsory *Percepit itaque* illustrates. This responsory belongs to the Office for Martial and falls also in mode 3.

Example 3.1. (*cont.*)

Pa 909 de- o cun- ctis qui ad mar- ti- ri- um e- - ius

Pa 1085

Pa 909 ue- ne- rant_____ ui- den- - -

Pa 1085

Pa 909 - - - - ti- - bus.

Pa 1085

Example 3.2. Final cadence of mode 3 responsorial tone,
(a) Tonary in Pa 909 fol. 252v, (b) Verse *Haec enim* Pa 909 fol. 80r and
Pa 1085 fol. 8r

a) se- cu- - - - - - - - lo- rum_____

b) ue- ne- rant_____ ui- - den- - - -

a) _____ a- - - - men.

b) - - - - ti- - bus.

Table 3.6. *Final cadences in the verses of the Responsory Percepit itaque*

Verse	Edition	Accent	Cadence
Vos estis qui	II.2.1.J	dóminus = ppo	standard
Relicto namque	II.2.1.J	adhǽrens = po	alternative
Vocauit eum	App.A.6.A	paréntibus = ppo	alternative

Adémar employs four verses in total, two in Pa 909 and two additional verses in his revision of the Office in Pa 1978.[119] Table 3.6 shows the disposition of the accentuation at the final cadence of each verse and Adémar's choice of cadence.[120] The one verse that uses the standard cadence, *Vos estis qui*, ends with proparoxytone, the opposite accentuation of that which occurs at the end of the Lesser Doxology, while the alternative cadence is found with both proparoxytone and paroxytone. Therefore, in Adémar's usage, either cadence could occur with either pattern of final accentuation. And so, Adémar's practice contradicts the statement of Frere regarding the absence of variation at the final cadence, while simultaneously confirming it in a curious way in that whatever variation does occur is independent of textual accentuation.

Peter Wagner found that the terminations of verses sometimes varied, but dismissed the practice as not being in general use.[121] Lisa Fagin Davis, observing the use of *differentiae* in responsories of the Gottschalk antiphoner, suggests that they, like the *differentiae* in antiphonal psalmody, might be mnemonic devices that assist in grouping similar melodies within the same mode.[122] But Adémar uses both mode 3 cadences in the verses that form part of the responsory *Percepit itaque*, and so that explanation does not cover his practice because this one responsory would have to fall in two different groups. Moreover, in the tonary of Pa 909, in which Adémar wrote the music, no alternative endings for the responsories occur,

[119] Edition II.2.1.J and App.A.6.A-B. I do not include in Table 3.6 the verse *Dominum toti corde* (Edition App.A.6.B) because Adémar does not enter the notation for the final cadence. In the edition, I print the cadences given by Adémar in the verse *Vocauit eum*.

[120] In Table 3.6, the cadence identified as standard is that given in the tonary of Pa 909 (Edition App. E.1.C and Example 3.2 above); that as alternative is used for the verse *Haec enim* in Pa 1085 and 909 as in Examples 3.1 and 3.2 above. Accents: ppo = proparoxytone (accent on the antepenultimate syllable); po = paroxytone (accent on the penultimate syllable).

[121] Wagner, *Einführung*, 3: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, pp. 210–11.

[122] Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphonary*, pp. 73–77.

nor is there any attempt to group the responsories within the individual modes in any way.[123]

Indeed, a close inspection of the responsories Adémar used in the Offices for Martial, Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, some newly composed and others borrowed from existing liturgies, indicates that Adémar exploited a rich assortment of variants in the tones for the verses, at cadence points and elsewhere, to provide purely musical variety. Furthermore, he employed this variety more often in the Offices for Martial and Valérie than in the other two, apparently reserving it as a tactic for use in Offices of greater liturgical importance. Here, I analyze the responsories of modes 1 and 7 to illustrate the range of variation found in Adémar's Offices.

The responsories of these two modes best illustrate Adémar's procedure. Modes 5 and 6 are represented by a single responsory each over the four Offices; the responsories of mode 8 present the least variation from the standard tone, but all five chants in this mode occur in the Offices of Austriclinian and Cybard, where Adémar least frequently varies the tones in any case.[124] Therefore, I turn to the five responsories of mode 7 to represent a relatively stable tone for the verse; at the opposite end of the spectrum, the twelve responsories that belong to mode 1 offer the widest range of variation, not only because their number is greater than that of any other mode, but also because they occur at significant points of the Offices, especially that of Martial, where their musical variation carries dramatic as well as purely musical import.

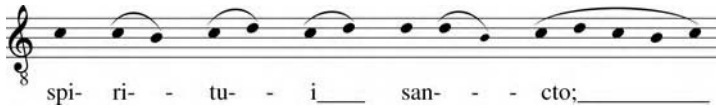
All the verses in the mode 7 responsories use the same tone, the sample given in the tonary of Pa 909.[125] They also all agree in using, for their principal mediant cadence, that which falls on the word "semper" in the

[123] The tonary in Pa 1121 (fol. 202r) distributes several responsory incipits among the antiphons of mode 1 (Russell, "The Southern French Tonary," pp. 222–23), implying that they share *differentiae*; as Russell points out, however (*ibid.*, pp. 95–96), this arrangement would appear to be an error because the other modes do not share this disposition. In the section of the tonary in Pa 909 that pertains to the Mass chants, the Graduals of mode 7 and the Offertories of modes 1 and 4 are assigned alternative endings for their verses, which suggests the application of *differentiae*; see Edition App.E.3.G, A and D, respectively. The Graduals and Offertories of mode 5 have two endings each, but they do not differ musically; Edition App.E.3.E.

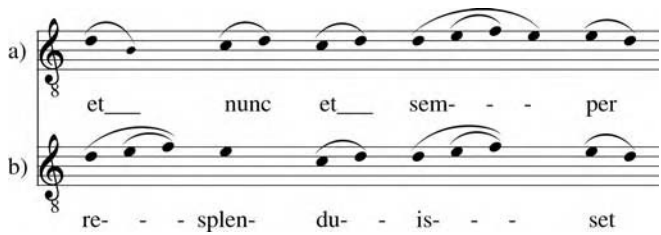
[124] Mode 5: *Karitatis munere* (Valérie; Edition VI.2.1.I). Mode 6: *Dux Stephanus* (Valérie; VI.2.2.G). Mode 8: *Cumque ab oriente*, *Cum uir apostolicus*, *Austriclinianus uir clarissimus* and *Electus et magnus* (Austriclinian; VII.1.1.H and I, 1.2.H and I, respectively); *Beatus hic Eparchius* (Cybard; VIII.2.J).

[125] Responsories: *Venerandam*, *Peracto feliciter*, *Ciues apostolorum* and *Gloriosus est* (Martial; Edition II.2.1.H, 2.3.D, E and F, respectively); and *Spernens uirgo* (Valérie; VI.2.2.H). Tonary, App.E.1.G.

Example 3.3. Intermediate cadence in mode 7 responsories from tonary in Pa 909 fol. 254r



Example 3.4. Paroxytonic mediant cadence, (a) Tonary in Pa 909 fol. 254r, (b) Verse *Continuo lux magna* of responsory *Peracto feliciter* Pa 909 fol. 67v



sample tone, instead of the cadence on "sancto," as one might expect.[126] Two verses are sufficiently long to require an intermediate cadence between the intonation and the mediant, and it is here that the cadence on "sancto" occurs.[127] (See Example 3.3.) The intermediate cadence is introduced by the same two repeated binary neumes C–D (on the last two syllables of "spiritui" in Example 3.3) as the mediant cadence (see Example 3.4 below), but the setting of the last two syllables differs. The principal mediant cadence varies according to the tonic accent of the text, as all modern commentators observe, but not universally in the way they suggest. Frere and other scholars note that the paroxytonic cadence covers five syllables; in a proparoxytonic cadence, the accented antepenultimate syllable receives an additional note, so that the last two syllables use the same setting irrespective of the accent.[128]

Adémar's procedure differs, however. All the paroxytonic cadences (with the exception of *Continuo lux magna* in the responsory *Peracto feliciter*) use

[126] On the application of the responsorial tones to the Lesser Doxology, see Wagner, *Einführung*, 3: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, pp. 211–16.

[127] The verses are *Continuo lux magna* (responsory *Peracto feliciter*; Edition II.2.3.D), and *Beatus Marcialis spiritum* (responsory *Ciues apostolorum*; II.2.3.E). Wagner states that, in some modes, including mode 7, a varied cadence occurs at this point; see *Einführung*, 3: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, pp. 205–7, especially, for mode 7, pp. 206–7.

[128] Frere, ed., *Antiphonale sarisburiense*, pp. 3–4; Wagner, *Einführung*, 3: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, pp. 203–4; Ferretti, *Estetica gregoriana*, 1:275.

Table 3.7. *Cadences of verses in mode 7 responsories*

Responsory	Verse	Edition	Mediant accent	Final cadence
Venerandam	Ecce ego mitto	II.2.1.H	lupórum = po	standard
	Tota igitur mentis		humíliter = ppo	alternative
	Salutaribus ecclesiam	App.A.4.C	dónis = po	alternative
Peracto feliciter	Vt sedeat	II.2.3.D	princípibus = ppo	standard
	Continuo lux magna		resplenduísset = po	alternative
Ciues apostolorum	Beatus Marcialis spiritum	II.2.3.E	soluéndi = po	alternative
Gloriosus est	Multa pro Christi nomine	II.2.3.F	bíbit = po	standard
Spernens uirgo	Pro terrenis meruit	VI.2.2.H	caeléstia = ppo	standard

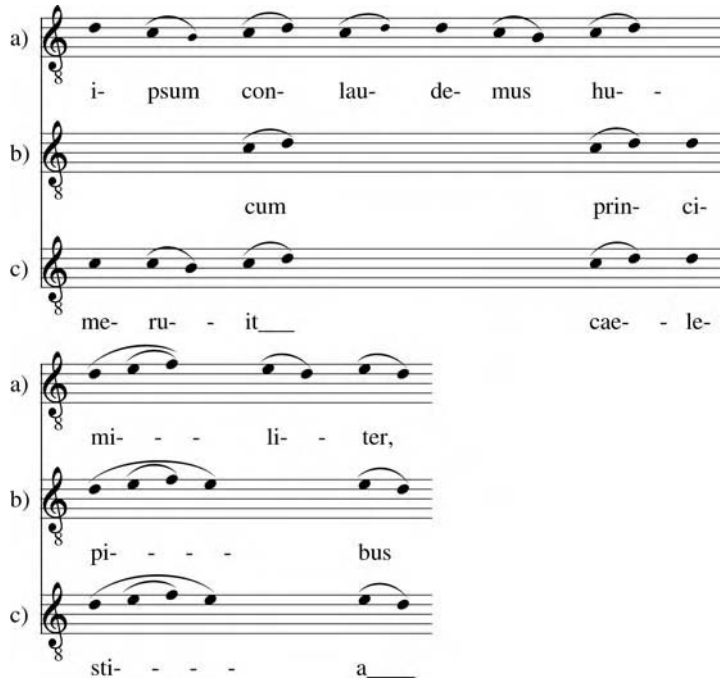
the mediant cadence given in the tonary on "semper." Table 3.7 gives the list of all verses in responsories of mode 7, and Example 3.4 illustrates the paroxytonic cadence with its one variant.[129] The variant on the accented penultimate syllable may seem slight, in that a single note, the final E, is missing, but it carries greater import because Adémar uses a similar variant in the proparoxytonic mediant cadences, as discussed below (see Example 3.5). Moreover, the reading of this cadence might be a scribal error. (Adémar's copying is careful but not altogether free of error.[130]) The setting of the first two syllables, which differs radically from the standard cadence, could be an error of assimilation through anticipation of the setting of the last two syllables, an error that might then have been compounded by the omission of the final E on the accented syllable. In any event, the reading is striking in comparison with the unanimity of the other verses at this point.

In contrast with his otherwise consistent treatment of paroxytonic mediant cadences, Adémar takes a more varied approach in the proparoxytonic cadences, listed in Table 3.7 above. Example 3.5 shows the three cadences of this type. Although each cadence differs slightly from the others, there are two types. First, the cadence in the verses *Vt sedeat* and *Pro terrenis meruit* behaves precisely as Frere and others suggest they

[129] I do not include in Table 3.7 the verse *Gaudent angeli* of the responsory *Venerandam* (Edition App.A.4.B) because Adémar does not enter the notation for either the mediant or final cadence. In the edition, I print the cadences given by Adémar in the verse *Tota igitur mentis*.

[130] See the reference to errors in his copying in Chapter 2 above.

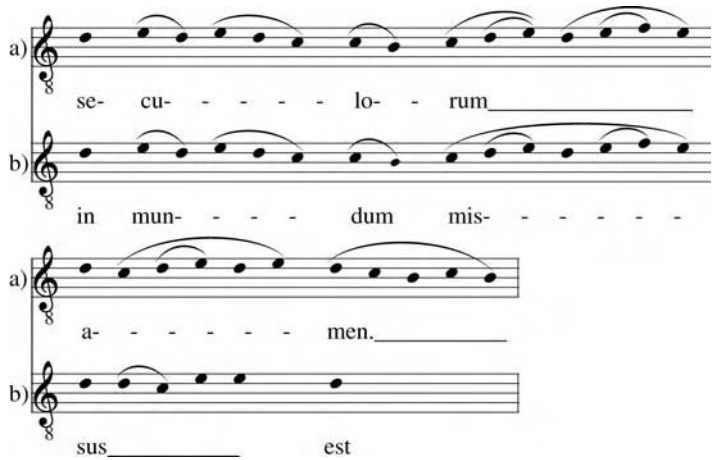
Example 3.5. Proparoxytonic mediant cadences in mode 7 responsories, (a) Verse *Tota igitur mentis* Pa 909 fol. 63v, (b) Verse *Vt sedeat* Pa 909 fol. 67v, (c) Verse *Pro terrenis meruit* Pa 909 fol. 80r



should: a single note is added to the paroxytonic cadence for the antepenultimate accented syllable. The cadence in *Vt sedeat* is missing the setting of the first syllable of the cadence, the binary neume C–B (on the middle syllable of "meruit" in *Pro terrenis meruit*, for example), because its text is too short to accommodate the full intonation and mediant cadence.

The other verse, *Tota igitur mentis* in the responsory *Venerandam*, presents the alternative cadence. It differs principally from the standard proparoxytonic cadence by retaining the accent on the ascending neume, like the paroxytonic cadence. That neume is then shortened by one note (as in the paroxytonic cadence in the verse *Continuo lux magna*, discussed above [see Example 3.4]), and the cadential neume (the binary E–D) is repeated for the last two syllables. Another oddity that indicates Adémar's flexibility in handling responsorial tones is the setting for the last three syllables of "conlaudemus" in *Tota igitur mentis*, which lengthens the cadence from the usual six syllables to nine (starting from the second

Example 3.6. Final cadences in mode 7 responsories,
(a) Tonary in Pa 909 fol. 254r, (b) Verse *Beatus Marcialis spiritum* of responsory *Ciues apostolorum* Pa 909 fol. 68r



syllable of "ipsum"). The recitation could have continued through "ipsum" and the first two syllables of "conlaudemus," allowing the cadence to begin on the latter's accented penultimate syllable, but, instead, he extended the cadence with the interpolation.

Finally, Adémar employs two concluding cadences, the standard, which ends on B, and an alternative that ends on D. Table 3.7 above lists the verses and the disposition of the two cadences. Example 3.6 illustrates each cadence. As in the case of the intermediate and mediant cadences of this mode, the approach to the cadence is the same in both versions with the variant falling on the last two syllables of the verse. Again, like the two versions of the final cadence in mode 3 discussed above (see Example 3.2 and Table 3.6 above), both versions of this cadence appear in the same responsory, and so they give no indication of grouping the responsory by melody type.[131]

A third final cadence for the mode 7 tone was in use at Saint Martial in Adémar's time, although it does not appear in his surviving musical

[131] The responsory *Venerandam* comprises four verses, one of which, *Ecce ego mitto*, uses the standard cadence; the two others, *Tota igitur mentis* and *Salutaribus ecclesiam*, use the alternative cadence; for the fourth, *Gaudent angeli*, Adémar did not enter the notation for either the mediant or final cadence, as noted above (n. 129). The responsory *Peracto feliciter* has two verses, of which the first, *Vt sedeat*, ends with the standard cadence, while the second, *Continuo lux magna*, closes with the alternative. See Table 3.7 above.

manuscripts. This cadence ends on the final, G, and concludes the verse *Audite* in the responsory *Ciues apostolorum* that Adémar borrowed from the Common of Apostles.[132] Both the respond and verse are cued by incipit only in Pa 909, and so the termination of the verse does not appear there.[133] But both are written out in full in Pa 1088[2] and the verse occurs with complete neumation in Pa 1085.[134] The heighting of the neumes in Pa 1085 does not, of course, permit pitched transcription, but its neumation does agree, in neume grouping and direction of melodic motion, with the cadence in Pa 1088[2]. Therefore, we can conclude that the two sources agree and that this third cadence was known to Adémar.

Adémar's treatment of the mediant and final cadences of the mode 7 responsorial tone, then, exhibits considerably more flexibility than modern commentators like Frere, Wagner or Ferretti would lead us to expect. Moreover, with the possible exception of the alternative proparoxytonic mediant cadence he provides (see Example 3.5 above), where he seems to wish to retain the accented syllable on the ascending neume D–E–F, the differing cadences he uses appear to be motivated by a desire for musical variety. This desire seems especially acute in responsories that comprise multiple verses. The liturgy at Saint Martial was particularly rich with such responsories, and they are specifically employed to lend a feast greater solemnity, as noted above. I would argue that Adémar's use of varying final cadences for the multiple verses within a single responsory constitutes a further extension of that attribute.

The flexibility with which Adémar treats the responsorial verses of mode 7 appears to be genuinely modest in comparison with the prolixity and diversity he reserves for the responsories of mode 1. Again, it is not a question of sheer quantity, although mode 1, represented by twelve responsories in all, outstrips the next most prolific by nearly double, mode 3, with seven. Responsories of mode 1 also appear at important points of the Office, particularly as the last responsory of a nocturn. All three nocturns of Matins for Martial and Austriclinian close with a mode 1 responsory, as well as the first and third nocturns in Matins for Valérie. Adémar takes particular advantage of this strategic placement in the Office of Martial to create a dramatic statement by introducing altogether new tones for the responsorial verses.[135]

[132] Edition II.2.3.E.

[133] Pa 909 fol. 68r.

[134] Pa 1088[2] fols. 400v-401v, Pa 1085 fol. 99r. In both cases, the responsory forms part of the Common of Apostles.

[135] On the variability of the mode 1 responsorial verse tone in the rhymed Office, see Boyce, "Rhymed Office Responsory Verses." For examples, see *idem*, "The Office of St. Mary of Salome," p. 30, and "The Office of the Three Marys," pp. 5–6.

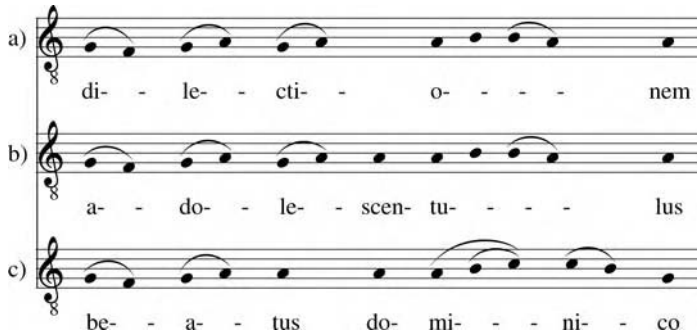
Table 3.8. *Verses in mode 1 responsories*

Responsory	Verse	Edition	Variation
Saluator noster	*Elegit nobis	II.2.1.I	
	Abiecta etenim		alternative final cadence #1
	Elegit enim	App.A.5.B	alternative final cadence #2
	Ante enim	App.A.5.D	alternative final cadence #1
O quam gloriosus	*Ibi beniamin	II.2.1.K	
	Ex quo enim		mediant cadence and alternative final cadence #3
	*Christi resurrectionis	App.A.7.C	
O uere sanctum	Nimis honorati sunt	II.2.2.K	alternative tone #1
	Vere per omnia		alternative tone #1
O sancte dei apostole	Adnunciasti	II.2.3.G	alternative tone #2
	Praefulgens gloriosus		alternative tone #2
	Gloria patri		alternative tone #2
Fide et merito	*Antequam audiret	VI.2.1.J	
Sancta uirgo	Sanctarum uirginum	VI.2.3.E	alternative tone #3
	*Praecioso coronata		
Post uictoriam	*Et quia in itinere	VII.1.1.G	
Quanto amplius	*Cum idem uir	VII.1.1.J	
Iussione principis	*Laborem uiriliter	VII.1.2.G	
Beato Austricliniano	*Exhibuit promptam	VII.1.2.J	
Dilectio pacis	*Beatissimus confessor	VII.1.3.E	
Mirabilis dominus	*Soli deo	VIII.2.H	

First, it is clear that Adémar begins with the working assumption that such a thing as a standard responsorial tone for mode 1 exists. Table 3.8 gives all the responsorial verses in mode 1. Those marked with an asterisk use the standard tone with cadences as given in the sample provided in the tonary of Pa 909.[136] As Table 3.8 shows, the standard tone and cadences

[136] Edition App.E.1.A.

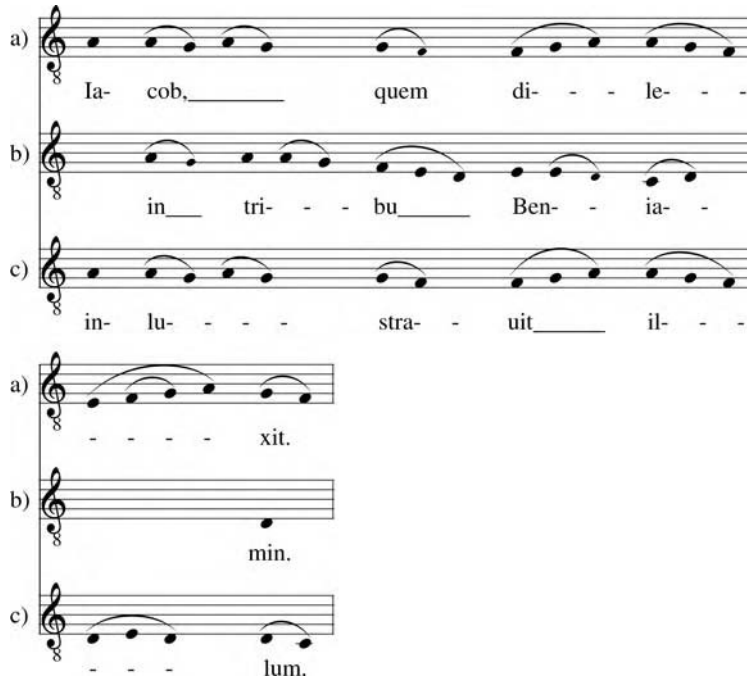
Example 3.7. Mediant cadences in mode 1 responsories, (a) Verse *Exhibuit promptam* Pa 909 fol. 84r, (b) Verse *Ibi beniamin* Pa 909 fol. 64v, (c) Verse *Ex quo enim* Pa 909 fol. 64v



form the setting of half the verses found with the mode 1 responsories, including all the mode 1 verses in the Offices for Austriclinian and Cybard (those falling in sections VII and VIII of the edition). Two features of this standard tone deserve comment. First, as in the mode 7 tone, the mediant cadence is that which falls on the word "semper" in the sample. Two of the verses (*Abiecta etenim* and *Beatissimus confessor*) require intermediate cadences because of the length of their texts; here, Adémar simply repeats the mediant cadence rather than instituting that which falls on "sancto" in the sample tone, as he did with the mode 7 verses. Second, the proparoxytonic mediant cadences, with one exception noted below, all employ a single added note for the accented syllable, leaving the setting of the last two syllables the same irrespective of accent. (See Example 3.7 below.)

These factors combine to give the distinct impression that Adémar was operating within a liturgical system that recognized the fundamental stability of the responsorial tones. And it was against that foundation of stability that the variations he introduced created a dramatic effect. The least variation occurs at the mediant cadence, with only one alternative form. Example 3.7 gives the variant cadence from the verse *Ex quo enim* with typical examples of the standard paroxytonic (*Exhibuit promptam*) and proparoxytonic forms (*Ibi beniamin*). The variant cadential figure greatly resembles the alternative proparoxytonic mediant cadence in mode 7 (see Example 3.5a above). Adémar places the most elaborate musical setting on the accented syllable, the antepenultimate of "dominico." He then alters this figure to a conjunct ascent, A–B–C (in place of the upper neighbour figure on the penultimate syllable of the standard cadence),

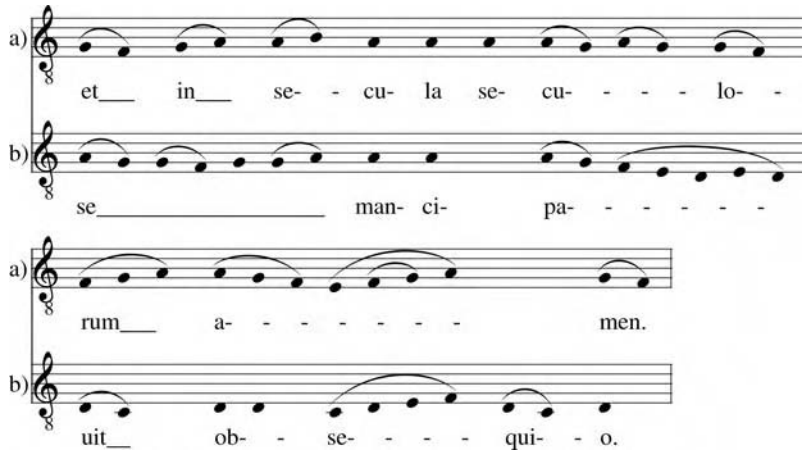
Example 3.8. Final cadences in the verses of responsory *Saluator noster*, (a) Verse *Elegit nobis* Pa 909 fol. 64r, (b) Verse *Abiecta etenim* Pa 909 fol. 64v, (c) Verse *Elegit enim* Pa 1978 fol. 103r



adds a binary neume (C–B) for the unaccented penultimate syllable, and changes the cadential pitch to G. He also reduces the second binary neume G–A to the single note A on the final syllable of "beatus" and retains the added note from the proparoxytonic cadence (on the accented antepenultimate syllable of "adolescentulus") for the first syllable of "dominico." These modifications expand the cadence to seven syllables, in a way analogous to the mediant cadence in mode 7 for the verse *Tota igitur mentis* (Example 3.5a above). Again, the principal issue in this cadence appears to be the placement of the accented syllable on the longest melisma.

Adémar exploits a greater variation at the final cadence, providing three alternatives for the closing of the standard tone (see Table 3.8 above). Two of these occur in the responsory *Saluator noster*, which also includes one verse with the standard final cadence. Example 3.8 gives all three cadences that conclude the verses of this responsory. As in the alternative final cadence in mode 7 (see Example 3.6 above), the approach to the cadence

Example 3.9. Second half of responsorial tone, (a) Tonary in Pa 909 fol. 251v, (b) Verse *Ex quo enim* of responsory *O quam gloriosus* Pa 909 fol. 64v



is similar in all three cadences found in the verses for *Saluator noster*. The principal variants fall on the last two syllables (three in *Abiecta etenim*), and, above all, they differ in cadential pitch: F in the standard cadence, D and C in the alternatives.

Although musical variety again seems to be the motivating force, the verse that ends on C, *Elegit enim*, might be designed to create a smoother link with the repetendum that follows it. Beginning with the phrase "et ad sacri" and starting on C, it differs from that which succeeds the other verses, beginning "puerum Marcialem" and starting on A. This alternative cadence, then, creates a unison with the repetendum that follows. A smooth connection is not felt to be obligatory elsewhere in the same responsory, where the interval between the last note of the verse and the first of the repetendum is as large as a fifth (at the end of both *Abiecta etenim* and *Ante enim*, which cadence on D before the repetendum beginning on A), and therefore, the standard cadence, on F, or the first alternative, on D, would function just as well before the repetendum that starts on C.

A third alternative final cadence occurs in the verse *Ex quo enim* in the responsory *O quam gloriosus*. This verse has already been cited as the one instance in mode 1 of an alternative mediant cadence (Example 3.7c above). The alternative final cadence, together with the mediant cadence, forms part of a larger variation that comprises the second half of the tone. Example 3.9 presents that portion of the tone from the sample in the tonary of Pa 909 and the verse *Ex quo enim*. Although there are points of

Example 3.10. Verse *Sanctarum uirginum* of responsory *Sancta uirgo* Pa 909 fol. 80v

San- cta- - - - - - - - rum_____ uir- gi- num

m

iun- cta col- le- gi- - - o, pru- dens uir- -

m

go lam- pa- da or- na- ta___ o- le- - - o,

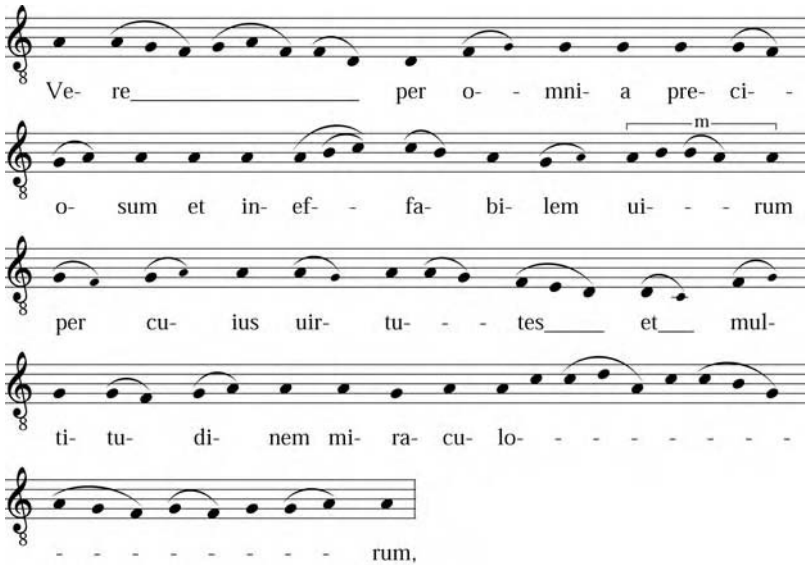
tam- quam sol, ful- - - get__ in___ cae- - -

lo;_____

contact between the standard tone and the setting of *Ex quo enim*, such as the recitation on A, brief as it is, and the general melodic shape of the intonation, the tone differs essentially in two regards: its cadence point, on D, an example of which we have seen in the alternative final cadence of the verse *Abiecta etenim* in *Saluator noster* (Example 3.8b above), and in the level of melismatic writing. The latter point, I believe, is of greater significance in regard to the overall context in which it occurs. The responsory to which this verse belongs, *O quam gloriosus*, stands last in the first nocturn of Matins for Martial, and includes a preceding verse, *Ibi beniamin*, that uses the standard tone and cadences. The variations in the tone of *Ex quo enim*, therefore, and particularly the melismatic setting of the second half of the verse, provide an embellishment to the responsory as a whole that helps to mark the conclusion of the nocturn.

Adémar takes this strategy of using an alternative tone in the final responsory of a nocturn one step further in the verse *Sanctarum uirginum* of the responsory *Sancta uirgo*. This responsory ends the third nocturn of Matins for Valérie, and therefore Matins as a whole. Again, one verse, this time the second one, *Praecioso coronata*, is set with the standard tone and cadences against which the alternative tone of *Sanctarum uirginum* stands in marked contrast. (See Example 3.10.) Adémar does not completely

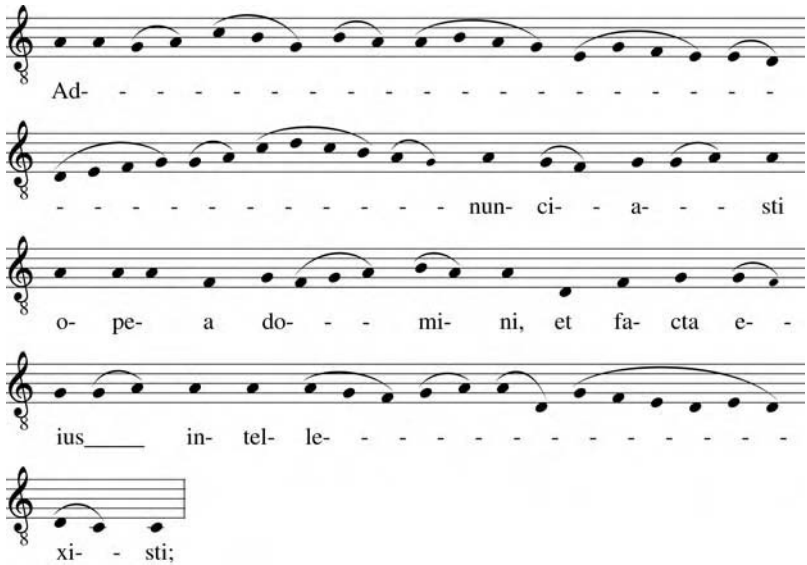
Example 3.11. Verse *Vere per omnia* of responsory *O uere sanctum* Pa 909 fols. 66v–67r



abandon the standard tone, though, as the mediant cadence, here repeated twice because of the length of the text, is borrowed from that tone (marked **m** in Example 3.10). The openings of the first two phrases, however, and the final cadence all differ from their respective equivalents in the standard tone. And the opening intonation begins with a melismatic setting of the word "Sanctarum," analogous to the melismatic passages in the second half of the verse *Ex quo enim*. Like that verse, this one creates a musical contrast with the standard tone, sung for the second verse of this responsory, and punctuates the conclusion of Matins.

The mediant cadence of the standard tone also appears in both verses of the responsory *O uere sanctum*, which concludes the second nocturn of Matins for Saint Martial. Otherwise, as Example 3.11 shows, this setting differs completely from the standard tone. (The borrowed mediant cadence is marked **m** in Example 3.11.) Again, the intonation and final cadence differ from the standard tone, and both are florid, emulating that aspect of the setting of *Ex quo enim* and expanding it. The increase in the level of melismatic decoration thus begun in that verse at the end of the first nocturn and augmented in the two verses of *O uere sanctum* at the end of the second finds its climax in the concluding responsory of the

Example 3.12. Verse *Adnunciasti* of responsory *O sancte dei apostole* Pa 909 fol. 68v

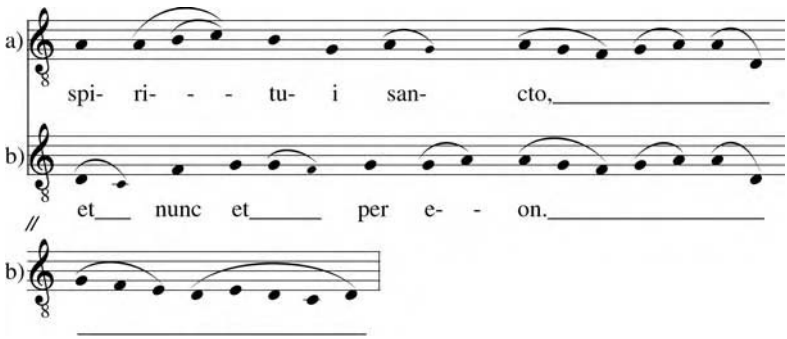


third and final nocturn of Matins for Martial, *O sancte dei apostole*. (See Example 3.12.)

This setting eschews all traces of the standard tone, with unique intonation, and mediant and final cadences; and it surpasses the previous examples in melismatic prolixity, particularly at the opening, and thereby contributes to the creation of a dramatic conclusion to the nocturn and Office of Matins. But this alternative tone then receives its own variation. Adémar writes out the tone for the Lesser Doxology with a special adaptation of its text: in place of the second phrase, beginning "Sicut erat," Adémar provides a variant text that reads "et nunc et per eon" ("and now and forever").[137] This setting uses the same highly melismatic intonation as the other two verses in this responsory, but the mediant and final cadences differ. (See Example 3.13.) The mediant cadence borrows a figure already heard as part of the final cadence in the setting of the other two verses (see Example 3.12 above) and is repeated as part of the final cadence of the Lesser Doxology (the two figures are aligned in Example 3.13). The approach to the final cadence is identical to that of the other two verses, but its cadence point

[137] Edition II.2.3.G.

Example 3.13. *Gloria patri* of responsory *O sancte dei apostole* Pa 909 fol. 68v, (a) Mediant cadence, (b) Final cadence



is changed from C to D. Thus, Adémar provides variety by introducing a new tone for the verses of this final responsory of Matins, and then proceeds to vary that new tone in its last iteration for the Lesser Doxology.

Adémar, thus, exploits the responsorial tones as a site for musical variation against the backdrop of a standard group of tones for the ecclesiastical modes. That backdrop is created by the repetition of the standard tones during Matins throughout the liturgical year, and it, in turn, creates an expectation that the tone would remain the same in each mode. Without that backdrop, the variations Adémar has introduced become irrelevant. Instead, they emerge as an effective tool for creating musical variety. Indeed, in the final responsory of the nocturn, the tones and their variations become powerful devices for punctuating the Office of Matins. Simultaneously, Adémar reserves this technique for feasts of greater liturgical significance: Valérie and, above all, Martial. Furthermore, the variation Adémar introduces requires that he write out the tones in full; if they were indicated by incipit only, the singers would automatically apply the standard tones.

Is it a coincidence that the chants that occur in the final position fall most often in mode 1? A survey of the responsories that conclude Matins and whose modes are discernible in Pa 1085 suggests that mode 1 chants appear in this position with disproportionate frequency (twenty chants as opposed to six for mode 7, the next most numerous).[138] Are mode 1 responsories chosen for this position because of the variety of

[138] Culled from the CANTUS index for Pa 1085; currently at http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus.

tones available in that mode, or are the mode 1 responsorial tones varied to such a degree (by Adémar, at least) because chants in that mode occur more frequently in the final position? There is simply no way of knowing. What is clear, however, is that Adémar varied the tones, that of mode 1 more than any other, for musical effect, and that he exploited this variety to create a dramatic conclusion to the nocturn and the Office of Matins.

RESPONSORY MELISMATA

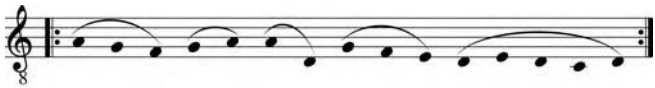
The variations Adémar effected of the tones for the final responsory of each nocturn in Matins for Martial form a partnership with an even more extreme musical expansion to mark the end of the liturgical unit, namely, the melismatic insertion in the final repetendum of the chant. This technique was widespread in the Latin West, and at least traces of it appear in Pa 1085, the manuscript that serves as a precedent to Adémar's practice in so many ways.[139] For the final responsory in each of the nocturns in Matins for Martial and in the first nocturn of Matins for Cybard, Adémar provides elaborate melismatic extensions for the final repetendum, after the Lesser Doxology; and, in one case, the final responsory of the third nocturn in Matins for Martial, they occur in the last two repetenda, framing the Doxology.[140]

All these expansions fall on stressed syllables and they all comprise repeated phrases in the style of the double-cursus sequence. At least some of the music is formulaic. For example, one phrase in *O quam gloriosus* uses the passage that becomes part of the final cadence of the tone sung

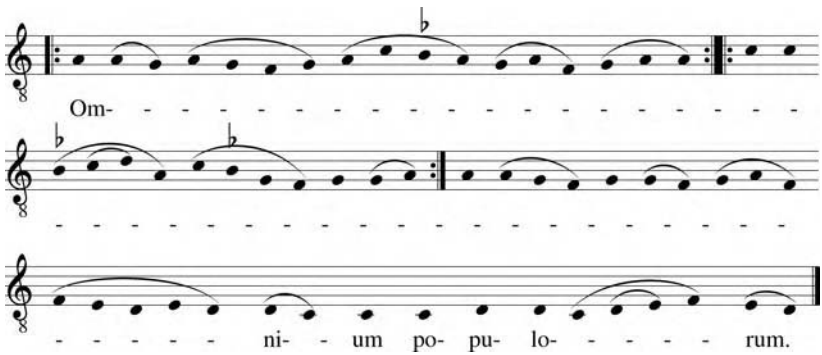
[139] On melismata in this part of the responsory, see Holman, "Melismatic Tropes"; Hofmann-Brandt, "Die Tropen zu den Responsorien"; Steiner, "Some Melismas for Office Responsories"; Kelly, "Responsory Tropes," especially pp. 28–115; *idem*, "Melodic Elaboration in Responsory Melismas"; *idem*, "Melisma and Prosula"; and *idem*, "Neuma triplex." On the texted melismata in Pa 1085, see Hofmann-Brandt, "Die Tropen zu den Responsorien," 2:181. They occur at Pa 1085 fols. 16v (Hofmann-Brandt, "Die Tropen zu den Responsorien," 2:41, 42, 45, 53–54 and 135, nos. 202, 206, 218, 267 and 680, respectively; and Kelly, "Neuma Triplex," pp. 12–13), and 104r (Hofmann-Brandt, "Die Tropen zu den Responsorien," 2:110–11 no. 555).

[140] Martial: responsories *O quam gloriosus*, *O uere sanctum* and *O sancte dei apostole* (Edition II.2.1.K, 2.2.K and 2.3.G, respectively); see also Hofmann-Brandt, "Die Tropen zu den Responsorien," 2:35 no. 177 (*O quam gloriosus*), 2:113 no. 568 (*O uere sanctum*), and 2:27 and 90 nos. 132 and 455, respectively (*O sancte dei apostole*, listed under its episcopal incipit *O princeps egregie*). Cybard: . . . *[E]parchius qui* (VIII.1.A). The melisma in *O quam gloriosus* is transcribed in Kelly, "Melisma and Prosula," Example 2, p. 165. Adémar left room at Pa 1978 fol. 102v for a melisma in the final repetendum of the last responsory in the second nocturn of Matins for Cybard (*Beatus hic Eparchius*) but the neumes were never added; see Edition VIII.2.J, and Delisle, "Notice," plate VI (preceding p. 241).

Example 3.14. Melisma in final repetendum of responsory *O quam gloriosus*
Pa 909 fol. 64v



Example 3.15. Conclusion of final repetendum of responsory *O sancte dei apostole*
Pa 909 fol. 68v



for the adaptation of the Lesser Doxology in *O sancte dei apostole* (see Example 3.13b above), as Example 3.14 shows. I doubt very much that Adémar actively intended such long-range melodic relationships to function as a cross-reference. It is more likely that this phrase constitutes a stock melodic gesture in mode 1, which Adémar has happened to use twice in different contexts.

The melismata in the Office of Martial, all of which belong to mode 1, combine two repeated phrases with a continuation that leads back to the balance of the repetendum (see Example 3.15 below), while the single extant example in the Office for Cybard contains a single repeated phrase. Again, the relative importance of the two feasts seems to be reflected in the level of decoration accorded this final repetendum. Those which end the first two nocturns in Matins for Martial fall into the same pattern: the first phrase begins on A, a fifth above the final, and descends to cadence on the final, D; the second phrase immediately returns to A and rises to the C a seventh above the final before cadencing on A with the under-second cadential figure common to the sequence, G–A–A; the continuation then brings the melody back down to the final for the concluding passage of the repetendum.

The final responsory of Matins for Martial presents a more complicated picture because the last two repetenda include melismatic extensions, as noted above. The first of these resembles those in the first two nocturns of Matins with the exception that the first phrase ascends back to A for its cadence, using the under-second cadence here also, G–A–A. The second melisma, after the Doxology, dispenses with any descent to the final and remains in the upper portion of the range, cadencing twice on A, before its continuation descends to the final for the conclusion of the repetendum. (See Example 3.15.) It is as if the obligatory gesture down to the final in the first phrase of the melisma has already been accomplished in the first melisma, and so need not be repeated here in the second melisma. Also, the cadence on A at the end of the first phrase prepares the opening of the second phrase on C a seventh above the final, which is eventually embellished by its upper neighbour, D. This opening at the top of the mode 1 range, in turn, permits the ending of the melisma, leading back to the conclusion of the repetendum, to be organized around a descent through the chain of thirds C–A–F–D, pausing on and embellishing each for emphasis.

These melismatic extensions within the final two repetenda of the responsory, together with the highly melismatic tones used for the verses and the adaptation of the Lesser Doxology, discussed above, and a generally exuberant level of embellishment in the refrain as a whole, make this final responsory of Matins for Martial a highly elaborate piece. Adémar generally reserves melismatic writing of this type for especially important moments in the liturgy.[141] *O sancte dei apostole*, then, provides a richly florid and dramatic conclusion for the Office of Matins. By providing full neumations for these melismata and those in the other final responsories in Martial's Office as well as in Cybard's, Adémar attempts to formalize and prescribe a practice that clearly already existed at Saint Martial. He simply extends control to yet another aspect of the singing of the liturgy for the abbey's patron saint.

*

The act of creating a new liturgy for Saint Martial that supported the flagrantly absurd claims of his apostolicity required Adémar to tread a narrow path between the received tradition of the saint's established liturgy and the innovations that would acknowledge his newly proclaimed status. The confection that Adémar produced demonstrates his complete

[141] Grier, "The Music is the Message"; and the analysis of the processional *Ave pastor optime* in Chapter 5 below.

control of the liturgy, its constituent parts and their characteristic idioms. He chose judiciously from the existing items, suppressing those which carried an association with another saint (like Martin) or the rank of confessor-bishop (for example, the Proper chants of the Mass) and retaining those whose texts specifically concerned Martial.

He carefully revised the texts thus selected principally to eliminate any reference to Martial's status as a bishop. His modifications also reveal a careful attention to detail in the integration of new and old texts. For example, he replaced the adverb "dauitice" with "prophetice" in the Offertory trope *Marcialem dominus* to reflect his substitution of a newly composed apostolic Offertory with a text based on the prophet Isaiah for the episcopal chant whose text quoted the Psalms. The existing texts, sedulously selected and revised, were then combined with new compositions that functioned to complement the retained items, promote the apostolic programme and, in places, emphatically articulate the whole.

Adémar's close attention to detail shows that, through the written record he was producing (his autograph in Pa 909), he sought complete control over the liturgy as a performed, and performative, object. For he recognized that his ability to persuade the clergy and the laity of Limoges, and to galvanize the energies of the pilgrims from beyond Limoges at the inauguration of the apostolic liturgy on 3 August 1029 depended on its success as a public ceremony. He used the liturgy and the organization of the liturgical day to define the time and space within which the ceremony would take place.

He apparently divided the day between the abbey of Saint Martial, where the saint's tomb was located, and the urban cathedral, to which he had the relics of Martial brought to become the focal point of the spectacular opening procession he had fashioned for the Mass. This arrangement, so Adémar thought, would unite the city's regular and secular clergy in their devotion to Martial's cult and his apostolic status. And he used the musical items of the liturgy to punctuate its most important moments, such as the elaborate tones and melismatic extensions in the final responsory of each nocturn of Matins, or the highly melismatic trope *Christi discipulus* with which the opening procession of the Mass ended. These chants find their complement in some of the sophisticated texts Adémar devised, such as that of the trope *Sanctus Marcialis*, which directly precedes *Christi discipulus*. Adémar hoped that the musical and textual splendour of these items, combined with the visual spectacle and olfactory sensation of the liturgy, would sway those in attendance, and would convince them of the truth of Martial's apostolicity.

Some aspects of the control he was seeking over this liturgical celebration, namely the ability to specify relative pitch relations with the heighting of the neumes, were made possible by the technological developments Adémar introduced in Aquitanian notation, as discussed in Chapter 2 above. But these developments did not spring from the particular requirements of recording the new apostolic liturgy because they already exist in the notation Adémar inscribed in Pa 1121 and the first layer of Pa 909, during the two years that preceded the inauguration of the liturgy. Therefore, they became the tools that permitted this measure of control. Without these developments, it would have been difficult to specify the alternative tones Adémar uses in the verses of the responsories that conclude the last two nocturns of Matins, for example, or the elaborate melismatic extensions in the final repetendum of each nocturn. Once the technological capability exists, it becomes possible to vary the responsorial tones for purely musical effect.

Finally, Adémar, at the same time as he was producing a detailed blueprint, as it were, for the performance of the day's liturgy, was also creating a permanent written record of it for posterity. We know, from his remarks in the *Epistola de apostolatu sancti Martialis*, discussed in Chapter 2, that he considered the written record to hold considerable authority. And so, he harnessed that authority to produce a monument of the liturgy, an authoritative record of its contents. As long as Pa 909 survived, no matter what might happen to the cult of Martial or the communal remembrance of the events of 3 August (which he hoped would be successful), posterity would forever know how Martial was (or was supposed to be) venerated as an apostle.

CHAPTER 4

Editor

Each time someone creates a written record of music, an editorial procedure occurs.[1] This procedure could range from the regularization of minor notational nuances to the complete rewriting of the piece in accordance with the requirements of its current usage. To say, therefore, that Adémar de Chabannes edited the music he copied into Pa 1121, 909 and 1978 is unremarkable, for he was simply behaving as all writers of music have behaved before and since. What is remarkable is that we have a relatively complete record of the sources he would have had available to him when he produced these manuscripts. We are therefore in a singular position to gauge with some precision how Adémar went about editing as he copied.

Adémar's editorial method divides neatly between those pieces transmitted with text (tropes and prosae, for example) and those without (sequentiae). For most pieces in the former category, we are able to compare Adémar's neumations in Pa 1121 and 909 with the exemplar available to him during their production, Pa 1120. Where either or both of Pa 1121 and 909 disagree with Pa 1120, there can only be three possible explanations: (1) Adémar erred when he copied one or both of Pa 1121 and 909, (2) he perceived an error in Pa 1120 and corrected it in his manuscript versions, or (3) he understood the reading in Pa 1120 to be correct and consciously varied it.[2] The first of these categories is inevitable in any act of copying; in the last two cases, however, Adémar's behaviour qualifies as editorial, although some would submit that not all instances might necessarily be considered good or scrupulous editing. But then, Adémar's goals were practical (to produce a usable text for his immediate circumstances) and political (to create a monumental source that would support his apostolic programme), not scholarly. So, we judge his work by these standards

[1] Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, p. 4.
[2] See Grier, "Scribal Practices," pp. 386–87. For another list of categories of scribal activity, see Bent, "Some Criteria," pp. 307–10.

and use his documents to learn about the musical practices that lie behind them.

The relationships between the sources of the sequentiae differ markedly from those of the tropes and prosae, principally because no earlier manuscript from Saint Martial itself, including Pa 1120, contains a sequentiary. Adémar did have at his disposal the sequentiaries in Pa 1118 and 1084 during the production of both Pa 1121 and 909, and he certainly used them as his source for many of the items in those collections. But neither of the older manuscripts was a product of the scriptorium at Saint Martial, and so Adémar adapted many of the pieces in them to the liturgical use at Saint Martial, modifying their melodies along the way to bring them into accord with local musical practices. In short, he did not use the sequentiaries in Pa 1118 and 1084 as exemplars in the same way he used Pa 1120 for the tropes and prosae. Consequently, I restrict my investigation of Adémar's editorial practices to the two versions of the sequentiary he compiled in Pa 1121 and 909. The differences between them fall into the same three categories: error, correction and conscious variation. And they give strong indications of the way in which Adémar understood musical processes of performance and transmission to apply to this repertory.

By far the greatest number of variants in the texted pieces concern the presence or absence of liquescence. In Chapter 2 above, I suggest that the application of liquescence depended entirely on the individual scribe's perception of the exigencies of pronunciation, declamation, diction and textual delivery in performance. A consideration of the treatment of liquescence in Pa 1120, 1121 and 909 graphically demonstrates the scribe's independence, for Adémar suppresses liquescents that are present in Pa 1120, supplies them where they are lacking in Pa 1120, and sometimes changes his mind between Pa 1121 and 909, one now agreeing with Pa 1120, now the other. This variability, especially Adémar's own inconsistency, in the treatment of liquescence indicates that the scribe made decisions on its application as the copying progressed without necessarily following the written form of the exemplar. I would suggest that scribes, including Adémar, were responding to their aural recollection and reconstruction of the manner of performing the individual piece, and clearly these could vary over time even with the same scribe.

The second most numerous category of variants in the texted pieces is the presence or absence of a repeated pitch. Again the variation is not unidirectional: each pair of manuscripts agrees against the third, reflecting Adémar's consistent disagreement with Pa 1120 (Pa 1121 and 909 agree against Pa 1120) or his own inconsistency in supplying or suppressing the

repeated note (Pa 1120 and 1121 agree against Pa 909, or Pa 1120 and 909 agree against Pa 1121). This type of variant almost invariably involves indecision in the application of the *oriscus* to represent a repeated note at the same pitch without changing the syllable of text.

Most of the remaining variants in the texted pieces concern differences in pitch and are local, comprising one to three consecutive notes before the witnesses return to agreement; and most of the variants longer than a single note consist of repeated notes at the same pitch. So, there are no examples, to the best of my knowledge, of even moderately lengthy passages (four to six consecutive notes) that disagree in pitch between the three witnesses. Naturally, the insecure heighting in Pa 1120 does not inspire great confidence in this finding about the melodic tradition it represents, and therefore the significance of perceived agreements between it and Pa 1121 and 909, but the latter two witnesses are accurately heighted. Their agreement, therefore, indicates that Adémar copied quite carefully, coordinating eye and ear to produce a consistent and therefore presumably accurate melodic record. In my opinion, the presence of the text helped in this task as the simultaneous aural recollection of text and music reinforced the accuracy of his inscription.

This facet of Adémar's transmission of the texted pieces comes into high relief when compared with the non-texted items, the sequentiae. Here, the seemingly endless streams of untexted neumes have led to classic errors of dittography (writing something twice that should only be written once), haplography (writing something only once that should be written twice) and omissions caused by homoeoarchon (two passages that begin the same), homoeoteleuton (two passages that end the same), or a combination of both.[3] Another category of error found among the sequentiae, this one particular to the copying of music, involves inadvertent transposition. Many of the errors in these categories affect large sections of music, sometimes including more than one strophe within the structure of the sequentia. I would argue that the absence of text contributed significantly to the commission of these errors.

As an editor, Adémar corrected many of the errors that he had made in the sequentiary of Pa 1121 when he came to produce Pa 909. Still, the knowledge of the melodic tradition of the sequentiae he used to correct the errors in Pa 1121 did not prevent him from committing new ones in Pa 909. And so, both

[3] For a technical discussion of the nature of these classes of errors in literary texts, see Havet, *Manuel de critique*, §§ 434–67 pp. 129–33; and Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 222–33, especially pp. 226–29.

sequentiaries contain discrepancies that can only be discerned by comparing Adémar's versions to the broader melodic tradition preserved in Aquitanian sources. Unlike the texted pieces, where Adémar's personal inconsistency (represented by disagreements between Pa 1121 and 909) sometimes reveals conscious alteration of the received melodic tradition, the bulk of the discrepancies between the sequentiaries in Pa 1121 and 909 seem to have arisen through faulty copying. Adémar's editing in these untexted works, therefore, largely consisted in the correction of his own scribal error.

My discussion of Adémar's editorial activities concludes with two examples that contrast with those already introduced. Codices Pa 1085 and 1240 contain neumations of several of the chants Adémar used in his versions of the Offices for Martial and Valérie. Adémar adjusted some of them, particularly in regard to the *differentia* he assigned to the end of the Psalm tone in the tonary of Pa 909. These modifications reveal his sensitivity to and knowledge of the modal system. The Psalms of the antiphonal psalmody of the Office are sung to melodic formulae, known as Psalm tones, that correspond to the eight modes of the medieval system. The mode of the antiphon that functions as an introduction and conclusion of the form determines the specific Psalm tone assigned to the Psalm. Each Psalm tone concludes with a variety of terminations that facilitate the transition to the beginning of the antiphon that concludes the form. By calling for an alternative *differentia* with a particular antiphon, Adémar shows that he understood the relationship between Psalm tone and antiphon in a way different from the scribe of Pa 1085.

Finally, Adémar created a "second" edition of his apostolic Office for Martial in Pa 1978. This version contains a number of substantive revisions to several of the chants. These differ from the editorial activities already described in that they constitute modifications designed to strengthen the rhetorical formulation of the Office texts. As such, they are closer in nature to some of the activities considered in Chapter 3 under the rubric of compiling, in which Adémar modified many of the texts he adapted for the apostolic liturgy. I include them here, however, because Adémar is editing his own compilation, and takes advantage of the situation to introduce new material that reinforces his apostolic programme.

TEXTED PIECES: LIQUESCENCE

Liquescence seems to constitute the largest area of scribal independence in the copying of texted musical items. Above, in Chapter 2, I consider

the general characteristics of Adémar's scribal treatment of this aspect of notation and performance. Here, my discussion focuses on his specific reaction to the application of liquescence in sources available to him as exemplars, whether written by himself (Pa 1121 during the production of Pa 909) or another (Pa 1120 during the production of Pa 1121). From these observations, we can gain an understanding of the variability of the relationship between pronunciation, notation and musical delivery.

The single most striking fact that emerges from a consideration of liquescence in the witnesses Pa 1120, 1121 and 909 is the extreme level of inconsistency among them, including the number of disagreements between Pa 1121 and 909, the two sources copied by Adémar. As the subsequent discussion shows, this inconsistency is completely unpredictable in nature. That is, there is no discernible trend in the treatment of liquescence in any of these three sources. Adémar is just as likely to suppress a liquescent in Pa 1120 as he is to add one where it is lacking in that source; likewise, he changes his mind between Pa 1121 and 909, and the direction of change is just as likely to be suppression as addition of liquescence. Therefore, one cannot state, for example, that liquescence is more common in one source than another, or that certain classes of letter combinations receive liquescence in one source more often than in another. The explanation for this behaviour, however, is not caprice, but, as I suggest above, an ongoing variability in the relationship between the exigencies of textual pronunciation and musical performance.

I note elsewhere the seeming idiosyncrasy of Pa 1120 in regard to its treatment of liquescence.[4] In many cases, this source disagrees, either in the presence or absence of a liquescent, with most or all of its Aquitanian contemporaries. It is true that Pa 1121 and 909 are more likely to agree with the balance of the Aquitanian tradition than is Pa 1120, and so one could aver that Adémar has gone some distance towards bringing the Lemovicensian treatment of liquescence into greater conformity with the broader Aquitanian practice. This conclusion is not transparent, however, within the context of a comparison of the three immediate sources from Saint Martial: the treatment of liquescence in Pa 1121 and 909 appears to be just as arbitrary as that in Pa 1120 without a consideration of the larger body of Aquitanian tropers.

The presence of two additional sources in the library of Saint Martial, Pa 1118 and 1084, both of which were available to Adémar when he copied

[4] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 116–18.

Table 4.1. *Otiose liquescents*

Text	Pa 1120	Pa 1121	Pa 909
ouibus	liquescent	liquescent	no liquescent
humanitatis	piece missing	liquescent	no liquescent
climata	liquescent	piece missing	no liquescent

Pa 1121 and 909, may have affected his application of liquescence. Roughly equal in age to Pa 1120, both were produced in centres to the south of Limoges in Aquitaine. We know that they came to Saint Martial by the time Adémar began work on Pa 1121 because he drew on the sequentiaries in each for pieces he copied into Pa 1121 and 909. Moreover, because they originated outside Limoges, they contribute significantly to our understanding of the broader Aquitanian melodic tradition. Adémar's knowledge of these sources may have influenced his treatment of liquescence in Pa 1121 and 909 because, in many cases, the presence or absence of liquescence in his neumations agrees with both Pa 1118 and 1084 while disagreeing with Pa 1120.

Liquescents, as discussed in Chapter 2, usually fall on diphthongs or on certain combinations of consonants, including those which link the end of one word with the beginning of the next. With rare exceptions, these guidelines are consistently applied in the three sources from Saint Martial. The three exceptions that I observe in these sources reveal a definite progression in Adémar's thinking about the application of liquescence. (See Table 4.1.) The examples all fall in Introit tropes: first syllable of "ouibus" in *Psallite omnes ouanter*; first syllable of "humanitatis" in *Quia naturam*; and the first syllable of "climata" in *Sanctorum collegia*.[5] These cases would not normally require a liquescent because the vowel is never a diphthong and it is invariably followed by a single consonant. Adémar seems to have been aware of the problem because he edits out each of these otiose liquescents, which appear in Pa 1120 and Adémar's own neumation in Pa 1121, in the production of Pa 909.

[5] *Psallite omnes ouanter* appears in the Mass for Martial in Pa 1120 fol. 49v, and Pa 1121 fol. 32r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 154 p. 219), and in the Mass for Martin in Pa 909 fol. 56r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 92 pp. 114–15. *Quia naturam*, Mass for the Assumption in Pa 1121 fol. 35r-v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 173 pp. 229–30), and Pa 909 fols. 48v-49r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 49 pp. 60–61; and Edition I.5.F. *Sanctorum collegia*, Saint Andrew, Pa 1120 fol. 66r-v, Pa 1121 fol. 41v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 211 p. 250), and Pa 909 fols. 60v-61r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 139 pp. 160–61.

Table 4.2. *Otiose liquescents at the end of a word*

Text	Pa 1120	Pa 1121	Pa 909
seuientis in	liquescent	no liquescent	no liquescent
insonet omnis	liquescent	liquescent	no liquescent

In two other cases, the sources differ in their application of liquescence to a final syllable that ends with a single consonant and is followed by a word that begins with a vowel. Again, these instances do not necessarily require liquescents, but they occur in the following contexts: last syllable of "seuientis" followed by "in" in *Petrus ad se*; and the last syllable of "insonet" followed by "omnis" in *Laudibus o Benedicte*.[6] (See Table 4.2.) By the time Adémar undertook Pa 909, he removed both liquescents, acting on the former instance ("seuientis in") already in Pa 1121. There may be somewhat more justification for the use of liquescents in these examples because they may aid in the singer's being able to enunciate the final consonant of the first word more clearly and thus separate it from the word that follows: "insonet omnis" instead of "insone tomnis," as it were. I mention this possibility because of the analogous situation between these examples and the treatment of the prefix *ad*.

In three places, the Saint Martial witnesses differ in their application of liquescence to this prefix in forms of the verbs *adorno* and *adoro*: "adornans" in the Introit trope *Marcialem prae secla* (discussed above in Chapter 2 as part of Example 2.1); "adorat" ("adhorat" in Pa 1120) in the Introit trope *Fulget nempe*; and "adorat" in the Gloria trope *Laus tibi*.[7] (See Table 4.3.) In this case, unlike the two previous sets of circumstances, the disagreements between the sources show no discernible trend. In each of the passages, the three sources enter into a different pattern of agreements. Twice, in both instances of "adorat," Adémar adds a liquescent in Pa 1121

[6] *Petrus ad se*, Peter and Paul, Pa 1120 fol. 43r, Pa 1121 fol. 27v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 133 pp. 206–7), and Pa 909 fol. 41r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 202 p. 220; and Edition I.1.B. *Laudibus o Benedicte*, Saint Benedict, Pa 1120 fol. 51v, Pa 1121 fols. 32v-33r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 161 p. 222), and Pa 909 fol. 60r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 257 p. 271; and Edition I.7.C.

[7] *Marcialem prae secla*, Martial, Pa 1120 fols. 49v-50r, Pa 1121 fols. 28v-29r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 139 p. 209), and Pa 909 fols. 42v-43r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 74 pp. 91–93; and Edition I.3.B. *Fulget nempe*, Assumption, Pa 1120 fol. 53r-v, Pa 1121 fol. 34v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 170 p. 227), and Pa 909 fol. 48r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 45 pp. 52–54; and Edition I.5.C. *Laus tibi*, Pa 1120 fols. 95r-96r, Pa 1121 fol. 50r-v, and Pa 909 fols. 94v-95v; see also Edition I.3.K.

Table 4.3. *Liquescents on the prefix ad*

Text	Pa 1120	Pa 1121	Pa 909
adornans	liquescent	no liquescent	no liquescent
adorat	no liquescent	liquescent	liquescent
adorat	no liquescent	liquescent	no liquescent

where none appeared in Pa 1120, retaining it in Pa 909 in one instance (*Fulget nempe*) and removing it from the other (*Laus tibi*). In the remaining example, "adornans," Adémar suppresses in both Pa 1121 and 909 the liquescent that is present in Pa 1120. These inconsistencies in Adémar's behaviour seem to stem from indecision whether to treat the prefix as a distinct phonetic unit, ending with the consonant *d* and therefore requiring articulation after the *d*, aided by the liquescent, or to break the syllable after the vowel *a* and link the consonant with the following syllable.

These inconsistencies suggest, as I proposed above in Chapter 2, that Adémar and other Aquitanian scribes were singing the melodies or otherwise imagining them as they copied them, and were applying liquescence according to their mental recollection and reconstruction of the melodies and the exigencies of performance. This hypothesis finds further support in a survey of the treatment of liquescence at a number of points in the text where one would normally expect a liquescent. I focus on three such formations: the diphthong *au* in forms of the nouns *laus*, *faux*, and the verb *laudo*; the constellation of consonants *nct* in forms of the adjectives *cunctus* and *sanctus*; and the participial ending *-ans/-ens*.[8] In each case, the

[8] The diphthong *au*: "fauce" in the Introit trope *Petrus ad se*, n. 6 above; "laudent" in the Introit trope *Celsa polorum*, Martial, Pa 1120 fol. 49v, Pa 1121 fol. 31v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 152 p. 218), and Martin, Pa 909 fol. 56r (see also *MMMA* 3: no. 82 pp. 102–3); "laudes" in the Introit trope *Dicat in ethra*, Martin, Pa 1120 fols. 62v-63r, Pa 1121 fol. 41r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 206 pp. 247–48), and Pa 909 fol. 56r-v (see also *MMMA* 3: no. 83 pp. 103–4); and "laudant" in the Gloria trope *Laus tibi*, n. 7 above. The consonants *nct*: "cunctae" in the Introit trope *Festiua per orbem*, Assumption, Pa 1120 fols. 53v-54r, Pa 1121 fol. 34r-v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 169 pp. 226–27), and Pa 909 fol. 47v (see also *MMMA* 3: no. 44 pp. 51–52; and Edition I.5.B); "cunctis" in the Introit trope *Fulget nempe*, n. 7 above; and "sancti" in the Introit trope *Alma dies*, Andrew, Pa 1120 fol. 66v, and Pa 909 fol. 61r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 213 p. 251; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 130 p. 153; and Edition I.9.C). The participial ending *-ans/-ens*: "procedens" in the Introit trope *Angelus domini*, Peter and Paul, Pa 1120 fol. 42r, Pa 1121 fol. 27v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 132 pp. 205–6), and Pa 909 fol. 41r (see also *MMMA* 3: no. 193 pp. 209–10; and Edition I.1.A); "firmans" and "ouans" in the Introit trope *Inclitus hic rutilo*, Martial, Pa 1120 fol. 47r-v, Pa 1121 fol. 30v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 147 pp. 214–15), and Austriclinian, Pa 909 fol. 59r (see also *MMMA* 3: no. 78 pp. 97–98; and Edition I.6.A); and "constituens" in the

Table 4.4. *Liquescents on au, nct and ans/ens*

Text	Pa 1120	Pa 1121	Pa 909
fauce	liquescent	liquescent	no liquescent
laudent	no liquescent	liquescent	liquescent
laudes	liquescent	no liquescent	no liquescent
laudant	no liquescent	liquescent	liquescent
cunctae	liquescent	no liquescent	no liquescent
cunctis	no liquescent	liquescent	liquescent
sancti	no liquescent	piece missing	liquescent
procedens	no liquescent	liquescent	liquescent
firmans	no liquescent	liquescent	liquescent
ouans	liquescent	liquescent	no liquescent
constituens	liquescent	no liquescent	no liquescent

three Saint Martial sources treat these groups of letters inconsistently, as Table 4.4 shows.

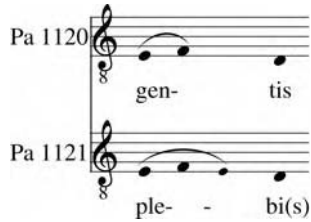
In all but two of the cases observed ("fauce" in *Petrus ad se* and "ouans" in *Inclitus hic rutilo*), Adémar's neumations in Pa 1121 and 909 agree against their forerunner Pa 1120. In the two exceptions just named, Pa 1120 and 1121 agree, and in both instances, Adémar suppresses in Pa 909 a liquescent that is present in Pa 1120 and preserved by him in Pa 1121. Nevertheless, a more important consideration is the inconsistency with which the individual letter groups are treated. In each class, there is at least one instance where Adémar suppresses a liquescent in Pa 1120, and adds one where no liquescent appears in that source. From these observations, it is clear that Adémar applied liquescence according to his perception of a melody and its performance irrespective of what his written exemplar transmitted; and second, that the same scribe (Adémar, for example) could recollect or reconstruct the same melody differently on two different occasions.

The privileged position of this recollection or reconstruction above that of the written exemplar is attested by a conglomerate of errors in the music and text of the Introit trope *Marcialis meritum*.[9] In Chapter 3, I discuss the revisions Adémar made to the text when he adapted the piece for his apostolic Mass, particularly in regard to the inversion of the nouns *gens* and *plebs*. I give the episcopal version of the two pertinent elements

Introit trope *Ecce dies magni*, Martial, Pa 1120 fols. 48v-49r, Pa 1121 fol. 31r-v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 151 p. 217), and Martin, Pa 909 fol. 55r-v (see also *MMMA* 3: no. 84 pp. 104–5).

[9] Edition I.3.H.

Example 4.1. Introit trope *Marcialis meritum* Pa 1120 fol. 47r, Pa 1121 fol. 29v



below, with the intervening phrase of the host chant and Adémar's apostolic revisions in brackets.

Plebs (Gens) aquitana suum gliscens hunc esse monarchum,

COGNOVIT SEMITAS SVAS.

Lemouicae genti (plebi) primus noua dogmata sparsit.

(The Aquitanian people, ardently longing for him to be their monarch, RECOGNIZED HIS PATHS. To the population of Limoges he first disseminated the new dogmas.)

First, the majority reading in the second element given above is "gentis," wrongly construed as a genitive rather than a dative following the verb *spargo*. Only Pa 1240 gives the correct reading.

Second, the text scribe of Pa 1121, Adémar's collaborator, copied from Pa 1120, which, in the second element, reads "gentis" with the majority of the witnesses, and in so doing committed a compounding error. He wrote "plebis," allowing the noun *plebs* to enter this element as an error of assimilation through perseveration from "Plebs" in the previous element, and retaining the incorrect genitive ending of "gentis" in his written exemplar, Pa 1120. Someone, possibly Adémar either when he entered the music or when he revisited Pa 1121 to modify its texts in accordance with the apostolic programme, erased the final *s* in "plebis" to give a grammatically correct reading of "plebi." At the same time, however, Adémar committed another indiscretion in the music that illustrates the role of aural recollection and reconstruction in his copying. (See Example 4.1.)

Codex Pa 1120, alone among the witnesses that read some form of *gens* in the second element, includes no liquescent on the first syllable, where the consonant grouping *nt* would normally require it. When Adémar entered the music above the erroneous reading "plebis," he was imagining the correct reading "genti," despite the reading of the manuscript into which he was writing the music, because he applied a liquescent to the

setting of the first syllable, required for "genti" but not for "plebi" with its single consonant *b*. Therefore, his aural reconstruction of the piece took precedence over the textual reading of the manuscript he was actually copying and over the musical reading of the exemplar from which he was copying.

Finally on the subject of liquescence, Adémar's practice in inscribing the melodies of prosae, fully texted sequences, differs greatly from that of the scribe of Pa 1120. Two of the four prosae for Martial that Adémar wrote in Pa 909 also occur in Pa 1120, *Valde lumen* and *Alme deus*.[10] From both, Adémar has removed a large number of liquescents that occur in Pa 1120, to the degree that a performance of Adémar's version would sound significantly different from one based on the musical text of Pa 1120. Stanza 5 of *Valde lumen* provides a typical example of the contrasting approaches of Adémar and the scribe of Pa 1120. (See Example 4.2.)

The upper stave of Example 4.2 shows the musical setting of stanza 5 common to both half verses in Pa 1120; the lower stave indicates the places where Adémar suppressed liquescents in his version of the melody in Pa 909. First, most of the liquescents in this passage are otiose from the point of view of textual declamation: only that which falls on the second syllable of "laudantia" is required to aid in the pronunciation of the text because of the combination of consonants *nt* that follows; the others fall on syllables that are followed by a single consonant that, in turn, attaches to the following syllable and so does not require the liquescent for textual articulation. Adémar eliminates all of them, including the justifiable one on "laudantia."

Second, the liquescents recorded in Pa 1120 fall in the same place in each half verse of the stanza as the format of Example 4.2 illustrates. Third, the melodic context is uniform: each time, the liquescent falls on the second of a pair of repeated notes on the same pitch followed by a note a second lower. These two circumstances apply to virtually every instance of liquescence in the versions of the two prosae *Valde lumen* and *Alme deus* found in Pa 1120. Fourth, Pa 1120 is alone among Aquitanian sources in recording the liquescents in stanza 5 of *Valde lumen*, and very few of the liquescents that Pa 1120 preserves elsewhere in *Valde lumen* and in *Alme deus* occur in any of the other Aquitanian sources that contain these prosae.

[10] Edition III.1.A and B. Pa 1120 fols. 125v-127r and 127v-128v, respectively.

Example 4.2. Prosa *Valde lumen* stanza 5, Pa 1120 fol. 126r, Pa 909 fol. 75v

Pa 1120
5a. Sus- ci- pi- as iam de- uo- ta pre- cum li-
5b. A- qui- ta- na haec pre- ca- ta le- mo- ui-
Pa 909

Pa 1120
ba- mi- na, Mar- ci- a- lis, quae tur- ma ar- mo-
cum pi- a lau- dan- ti- a pa- tro- num fe- sta-
Pa 909

Pa 1120
ni- cam re- sul- tan- do li- ram ad al- ta Chri-
li- a per ce- le- ber- ri- ma quem men- te iam
Pa 909

Pa 1120
ste, tu- a haec pre- ca- ta pro- mit si- de- ra.
de- uo- ta ue- ne- ran- tur ac hu- mil- li- ma.
Pa 909

Several conclusions follow from these observations, beginning with the clear deduction that, among Aquitanian sources of the prosa repertory, Pa 1120 presents a singular formation of their melodies concerning the application of liquescence. More important, however, is the conclusion that follows from the combination of the first three observations made above: for the music scribe of Pa 1120, liquescence is clearly part of his melodic conception of the piece and not primarily a device for assisting in text declamation. I would restrict this conclusion to his understanding of the melodic tradition of the repertory of prosae alone. His application of

liquescence to other types of texted pieces, such as tropes, while idiosyncratic, is not strongly at variance with the prevailing Aquitanian practice. Within the genre of prosae, the music scribe of Pa 1120 seems to be using liquescence as a melodic ornament in a very limited melodic context.

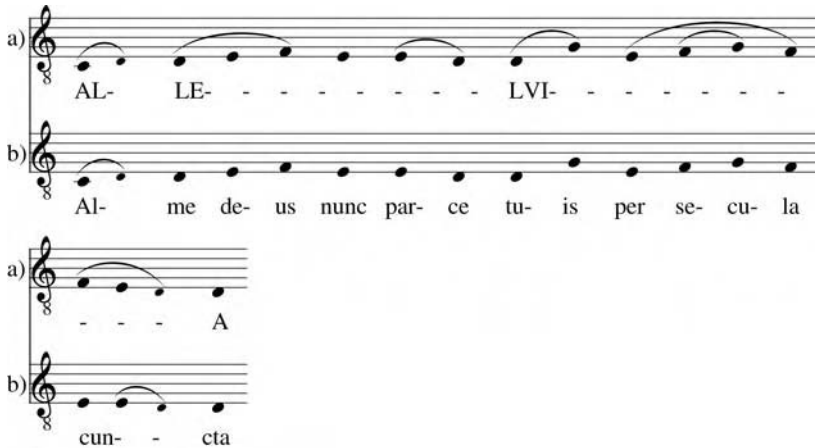
Adémar, in contrast, held a very different melodic conception of the genre, stripping the prosae of most traces of this ornamental style, and in this regard, he conforms to the more general Aquitanian usage of liquescence in this genre. I reiterate that a performance based on Adémar's versions would sound very different indeed from one that incorporated the written ornaments preserved in Pa 1120. One could object that perhaps Adémar anticipated that singers performing from his copies would supply their own ornaments, liquescent or otherwise, at moments they felt to be appropriate, and I would expect that to be the case almost inevitably in an eleventh-century performing context. Scribes applied liquescence according to their perception of the needs of performance, as I demonstrate above, and so we should expect singers to do the same.

Yet, this hypothesis runs contrary to everything else we observe in Adémar's use of musical notation and his conception of musical literacy. Above, in Chapter 2, I note that all aspects of Adémar's application of the technology of musical notation exhibited a desire to preserve with ever greater specificity the melodic details of a piece. Within that context, I deduce from the written versions of the prosae Adémar left behind that he expected them to be sung without the melodic ornaments found in Pa 1120. Why would he leave out notational nuances clearly visible in a manuscript available to him as an exemplar when he expected them to be sung at the discretion of the performer? We must take Adémar's notation at face value and suppose the suppression of liquescence in his versions of the prosae. The fragmentary proser in Pa 1121 (fols. 196r-201v) for which Adémar supplied the musical notation also uses liquescence very sparingly.

Adémar does apply liquescence occasionally in his neumations of the prosae, and a pattern is discernible in his usage. First, in agreement with Pa 1120, he retains the liquescents that occur in the Alleluia incipit with which *Alme deus* begins, as I note he does in the opening of the prosa *Apostolorum gloriosa*, above in Chapter 2, Example 2.4. The Alleluia uses a liquescent on the first syllable of *alleluia*, justified by the double consonant that ends the syllable and begins the next.[11] In the prosa, this

[11] *Alleluia* ℣ *Te gloriosus*; Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 41, pp. 88–89; *MMMA* 7:185–87. See also Edition App.C.22.

Example 4.3. (a) *Alleluia* with verse *Te gloriosus* Pa 909 fol. 62r,
(b) Prosa *Alme deus* Pa 909 fol. 76v

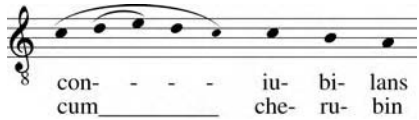


liquescent also falls in a position where it facilitates the declamation of the text, on the first syllable of "Alme," with the consonant grouping *lm*. (See Example 4.3.)

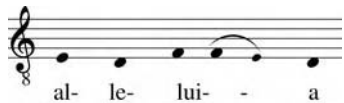
A second liquescent falls on the first syllable of "cuncta," again justified by pronunciation and again reflecting a liquescent in the Alleluia incipit, on the diphthong *ui* of the penultimate syllable. Adémar slightly modifies the Alleluia melody, changing the preceding F to an E to transform a repeated gesture on F to one on E. With this alteration, Adémar imitates the kind of melodic gesture in which the music scribe of Pa 1120 inserts a liquescent, but with one important difference: in Pa 1120, the repeated notes at the same pitch always fall on two different syllables; here, Adémar places the entire gesture, repeated notes and the subsequent liquescent, on the same syllable. This apparently minor difference suggests that Adémar preferred to use liquescence in the prosae as part of a more general ornament of a syllable, rather than on a single note as in Pa 1120.

This inference finds support in Adémar's treatment of liquescence in *Valde lumen*. Two liquescents occur in parallel positions in the two half verses of stanza 10, where Adémar retains them from Pa 1120. (See Example 4.4.) In both cases, as in the passages from *Alme deus* that use liquescents, the nuance assists in the declamation of the text: the first syllable of "coniubilans" in stanza 10a and "cum" followed by "cherubin" in stanza 10b. And both form part of a melisma on the syllable in question

Example 4.4. Prosa *Valde lumen* stanza 10, Pa 1120 fols. 126v–127r, Pa 909 fol. 76v



Example 4.5. Prosa *Valde lumen* stanza 11, Pa 909 fol. 76v



within the prevailing syllabic setting characteristic of the genre. Finally, Adémar adds one liquescent not present in Pa 1120's versions of *Valde lumen*, on the final word of the prosa, "alleluia," where he places a liquescent on the penultimate syllable, again characteristically treating it as a diphthong as he does elsewhere. (See Example 4.5.) Again, it forms part of an ornamented setting of the syllable, the same figure, in fact, as that for the first syllable of "cuncta" in *Alme deus* illustrated in Example 4.3 above, transposed up a second.

Adémar reveals a completely different conception of the application of liquescence to the repertory of prosae from that of the music scribe of Pa 1120. All liquescents, in Adémar's usage, are justified by the literary text; he attempts to retain, wherever possible, those which appear in the Alleluia incipit with which the prosa begins; and liquescents often form part of a more general ornamental setting of the syllable in question. This last point departs from his practice in other texted genres, such as tropes, where he customarily uses liquescents on individual notes. It would appear that he avoided that practice in the prosae *Valde lumen* and *Alme deus* in order to make a distinction between the prevailing syllabic texture and isolated moments of embellishment.

In this last regard, his original compositions in the genre, *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa*, exhibit two different approaches.[12] The former uses a single liquescent, on the first syllable of the text, and it is retained from the Alleluia incipit that opens the prosa. *Apostolorum gloriosa*, on the other hand, contains a number of liquescents, in stanzas 5, 9 and 13. They all fall in places where the text requires liquescence, most occur in parallel

[12] Edition III.1.C and D, respectively.

places in the respective half verses, and all occur on single notes. Adémar appears to have allowed himself somewhat more freedom in the application of liquescence, perhaps for expressive purposes, in this piece.

TEXTED PIECES: REPEATED NOTES AND DIFFERENCES IN PITCH

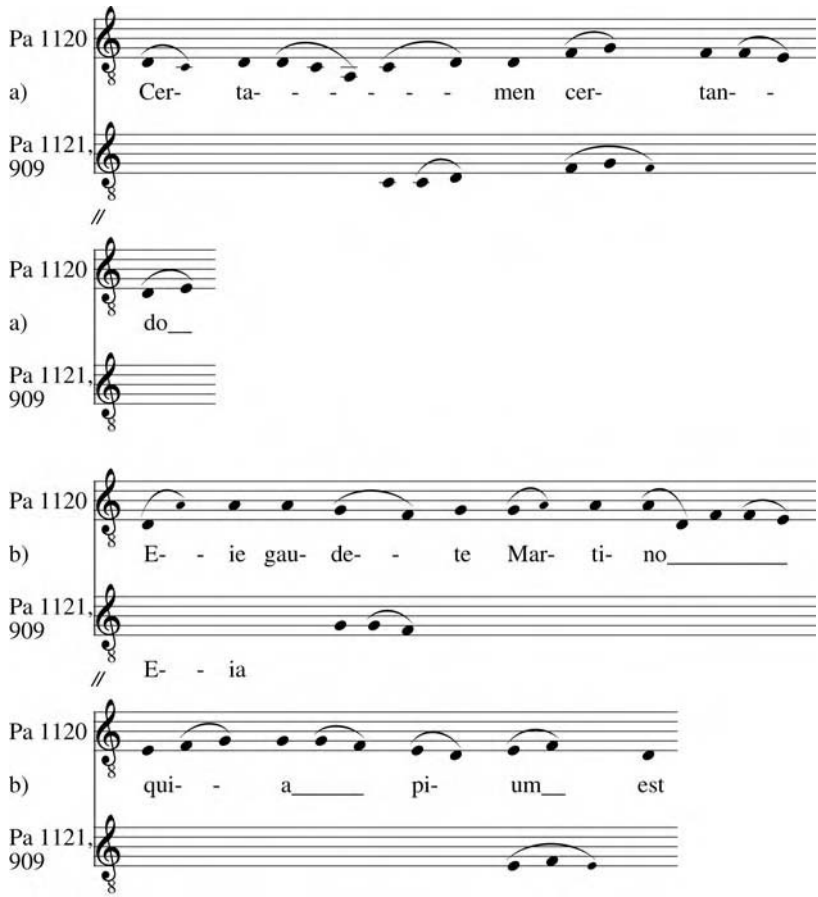
These editorial variants, taken as a group, are quantitatively less significant than liquescents and, I would argue, have less effect on the sound of the piece in performance. The first class, repeated notes, involves the addition or suppression of an *oriscus*. The repetition would appear to cause a lengthening of the note on a given syllable or the addition of an ornament arising from the glottal attack the *oriscus* would seem to require. The pitch alterations Adémar introduces, as noted above, concern very short passages, usually of two or three consecutive notes, and often consist of the transposition of several repeated notes to a different pitch. Neither class of variant, therefore, alters the melodic structure of a piece and both remain local in their effect.

In most cases of disagreement in the presence or absence of repeated notes, Pa 1121 and 909 agree against Pa 1120. By a small margin, Adémar's neumations are more likely to reveal the addition rather than the suppression of an *oriscus*, but either is possible. In a few places, Adémar is inconsistent, retaining Pa 1120's reading in only one of Pa 1121 and 909, with the other offering a variant. It is clear from Adémar's treatment of this melodic nuance that, as in the case of liquescence, his own neumations depend equally on what his written exemplar or exemplars transmit and how he aurally imagines the piece. Either class of evidence could take precedence in any given case. Moreover, also like his conduct in the matter of liquescence, Adémar could change his mind between the inscription of Pa 1121 and 909.

Two examples from the trope repertory illustrate the limited effect these variants have on the sounding text as compared with liquescence.[13] (See Example 4.6.) The first example (Example 4.6a) falls in the middle of a melisma on the second syllable of "certamen," where it would have minimal impact on the delivery of either the text or the melody. In the version shared by Pa 1121 and 909, the movement up to D in preparation

[13] Introit trope *Martyrio magni*, Saint Paul, Pa 1120 fol. 46r, Pa 1121 fol. 28r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, nos. 137–38 p. 208), Pa 909 fols. 41v-42r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 65 pp. 80–81; and Edition I.2.B. Introit trope *Eia gaudete*, Martin, Pa 1120 fol. 63r, Pa 1121 fol. 41v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 207 p. 248), Pa 909 fol. 56v; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 86 pp. 106–8.

Example 4.6. (a) Introit trope *Martyrio magni*, (b) Introit trope *Eia gaudete*



for the arrival on that note for the final syllable of "certamen" might be slightly delayed, and some vocal gesture, such as a glottal attack on the vowel *a*, might be required to articulate the repeated C. Neither of these performing nuances would have an effect comparable to that of the liquescent on the first syllable of the next word, "certando," which Adémar has added in Pa 1121 and 909. It changes the direction of the melody and would either be executed as a glissando, as suggested by Guido d'Arezzo, or distinguished timbrally in some way from the other notes in order to facilitate the pronunciation of the consonant *r* before the *t* with which the next syllable begins.

An even greater contrast occurs in Example 4.6b. The added note, on the second syllable of "gaudete," changes the melody only slightly, while the liquescent added by Adémar to the last syllable of "pium" again reverses the melodic direction and further fills in the skip of a third in the version preserved in Pa 1120, in addition to being performed in a distinctive way compared to its surrounding context. In view of the minimal effect changes to repeated notes brought to these trope melodies, one must question why Adémar bothered. I would offer the same answer I proposed regarding some of the very detailed modifications he made to the literary texts of the pieces he incorporated into the apostolic liturgy: that he was concerned to create as accurate a record of these items as possible, down to particulars of small apparent significance.

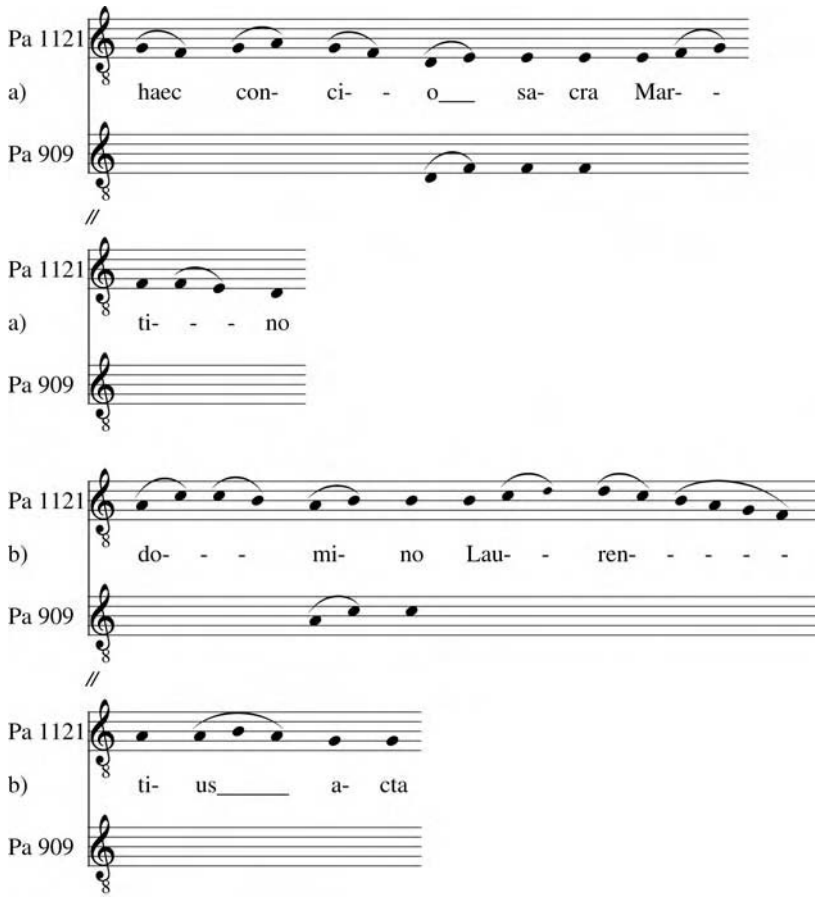
The very modest alterations Adémar made to the pitch content of the trope repertory reveal the conservative environment within which these items circulated at Saint Martial, as already discussed in Chapter 2 above. Many of the variants consist of the transposition of two or three repeated notes to a different pitch. A few involve the replacement of a binary or ternary neume with a single note. In no case is the overall melodic form of the piece altered. Variants are minor in aspect and local in effect. Moreover, although one can discern whether Pa 1120 agrees with Pa 1121 or 909 in the number of notes in a passage (that is, the second of the types of variants mentioned above), there is less certainty, because of its insecure heighting, whether Pa 1120 agrees with Adémar's neumations in individual pitches. So, I shall limit my discussion of the first type of variant to disagreements between Pa 1121 and 909, without regard to the possible agreement of Pa 1120 with either of them.

Two examples of passages in which repeated notes are transposed illustrate the limited effect this procedure has on the melody.[14] (See Example 4.7.) In both cases, movement by major second in Pa 1121 is replaced by a leap of a minor third in Pa 909. Some would be tempted to see in these revisions the gesture that is taken to be characteristic of German sources, in which the pitch that lies immediately below the semitone in the gamut is avoided in an upper auxiliary figure.[15] Nevertheless, both these notes, E and B, frequently occupy the position of upper

[14] Introit trope *Dicat in ethra*, n. 8 above. Introit trope *Grata deo*, Lawrence, Pa 1120 fol. 52v, Pa 1121 fol. 33v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 167 p. 225), Pa 909 fol. 47r; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 178 p. 191; and Edition I.4.B.

[15] See Wagner, "Germanisches und Romanisches"; Wagner, ed., *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche*, 2: pp. Va-XXXIIb; and Heisler, "Die Problematik."

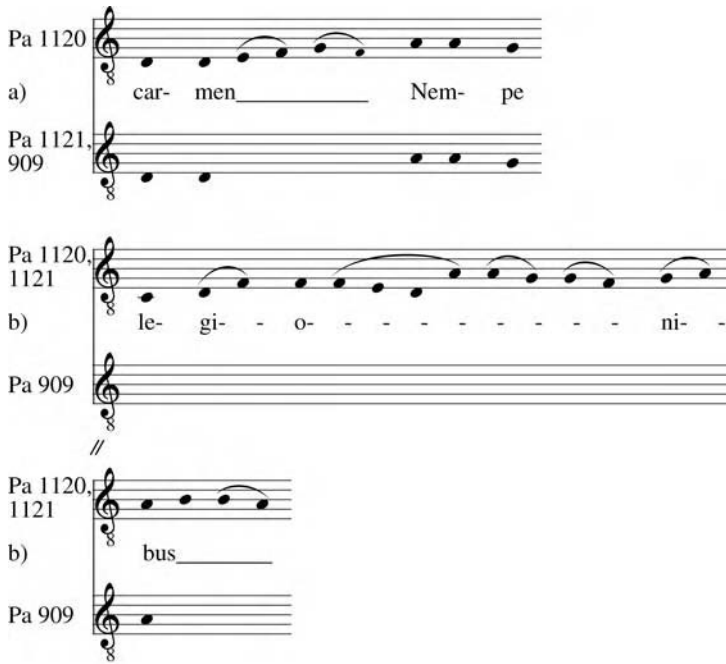
Example 4.7. (a) Introit trope *Dicat in ethra*, (b) Introit trope *Grata deo*



neighbour in melodies copied and composed by Adémar, later in Example 4.7b, for example, on the final syllable of "Laurentius." And so, no conscious attempt to suppress these notes is discernible on Adémar's part.

Instead, Adémar appears to be introducing some melodic variety in these two instances. In each case, the melody ascends after the repeated notes, departing, in the versions in Pa 1121, from the same pitch as the repeated notes. By placing those repeated notes a second higher in Pa 909, Adémar prepares the ascending motion by pausing briefly on the pitch above the note of departure, and thereby shortens the repeated-note gesture by one note. It is true that, in Example 4.7b, the version in Pa

Example 4.8. (a) Introit trope *Plebs deuota*, (b) Introit trope *Psallite omnes huius sancti*

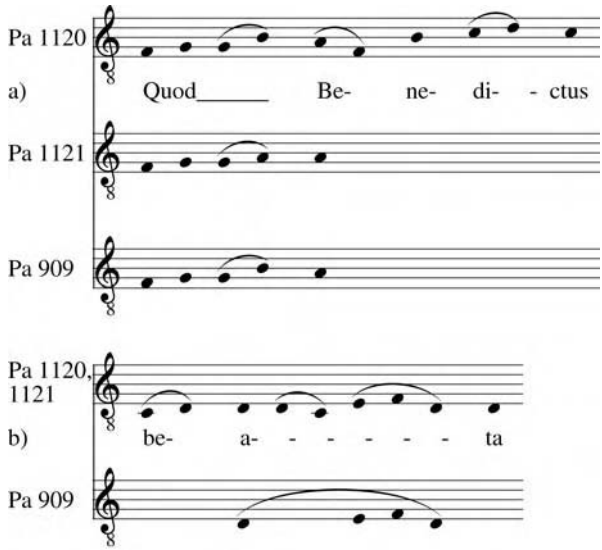


909 repeats the upwards leap of a minor third, A–C, on both the first two syllables of "domino," thereby lessening the melodic variety in the passage. Still, neither revision changes the overall shape of the melody, and both have purely local effect.

In several cases, Adémar revises the musical text of Pa 1120 by suppressing a melisma. Some of these revisions occur first in Pa 1121 and are then preserved in Pa 909, while a few others occur only in Pa 909 and apparently represent his second opinion. In even fewer instances, Adémar adds a melisma in either Pa 1121 or 909, but these are few in number and tend to have less effect on the melodic texture of the piece than the melismata in Pa 1120 that he suppresses. Two such passages occur at cadences, and reflect contrasting approaches to the use of embellishment on the part of the scribe of Pa 1120.[16] (See Example 4.8.)

[16] Introit trope *Plebs deuota*, Martial, Pa 1120 fol. 46r-v, Pa 1121 fol. 29r (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 140 p. 210), Pa 909 fol. 42r-v; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 75 pp. 93–94; and Edition I.3.A. Introit trope *Psallite omnes huius sancti*, Benedict, Pa 1120 fol. 52r, Pa 1121 fol. 33r-v (Evans, *The*

Example 4.9. (a) Introit trope *Psallite doctilogum*,
(b) Introit trope *Inclitus hic rutilo*



In Example 4.8a, the scribe of Pa 1120 provides a melisma at the cadence that falls on the second syllable of "carmen"; the passage fills in the ascent of a fifth from the cadential pitch D to the note on which the subsequent phrase begins, A. The cadence in Example 4.8b illustrates a different approach. Here, the scribe of Pa 1120, followed by Adémar in Pa 1121, gives a simple upper auxiliary on the cadential pitch A. In both cases, Adémar prefers the starker setting of a single note on the cadence, although, for *Psallite omnes huius sancti*, that preference did not emerge until his second neumation of the trope, in Pa 909.

Two further examples show how Adémar simplifies the melodic style of the trope repertory in Pa 1120 by removing melismata from the middle of the phrase.[17] (See Example 4.9.) The binary neume on the first syllable of "Benedictus" in Pa 1120's version (Example 4.9a) reverses the direction

Early Trope Repertory, no. 164 pp. 223–24), Justinian, Pa 909 fol. 60v; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 259 pp. 272–73; and Edition I.8.B.

[17] Introit trope *Psallite doctilogum*, Benedict, Pa 1120 fol. 5r, Pa 1121 fol. 32v (Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 160 pp. 221–22), Pa 909 fol. 59v; see also *MMMA* 3: no. 258 p. 272; and Edition I.7.B. Introit trope *Inclitus hic rutilo*, n. 8 above.

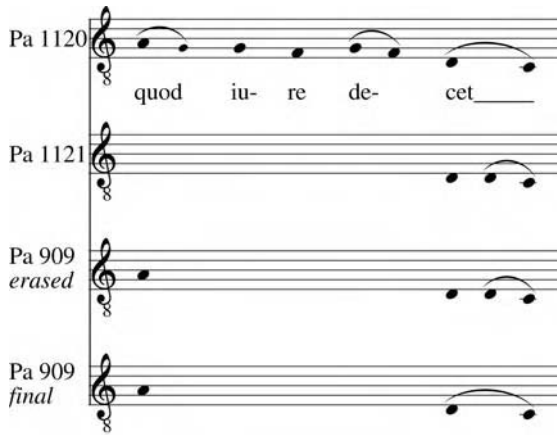
of the melody through its descent to F.[18] By deleting that F, the second note of the neume, Adémar's version in Pa 1121 maintains a steady conjunct ascent. His second neumation, in Pa 909, provides a slight undulation in the melody, as it rises to B on "Quod" before falling back to A and then continuing with its ascent. In both of Adémar's versions, the melodic line is much smoother than that presented in Pa 1120.

The version shared by Pa 1120 and 1121 in Example 4.9b offers a slight embellishment on the first note of the melisma on the second syllable of "beata," followed by a pair of interlocking melodic thirds: the rising C–E answered by the descending F–D. Adémar retains this modest decoration in Pa 1121 but rejects it for a simpler arch that rises by step and falls by leap in Pa 909. Taken together, these four examples show that Adémar held a slight preference for a simpler melodic style. These variants echo his suppression of liquescence in the repertory of prosae, which, in Pa 1120, appears to form part of the melodic ethos of the genre rather than constituting a response to the necessities of text delivery. Moreover, in the tropes, Adémar's preference for melodic simplicity grows more marked during his second round of neumations in Pa 909, in which he deletes some of the embellishments shared by Pa 1120 and his first copy, Pa 1121.

Three deductions emerge from these findings, which closely correspond with my observations about Adémar's other types of editorial activity. First, Adémar does not follow his written exemplar in every detail, even when that exemplar is his own manuscript, that is, Pa 1121 in the copying of Pa 909. He may suppress these melismata more for aesthetic reasons, as in the case of the transpositions discussed above, rather than from his aural recollection or reconstruction. Nevertheless, these concerns can overrule the written testimony of an exemplar. Second, although these revisions alter details of the melody, unlike the variable treatment of repeated notes or the instances of transposition mentioned above, they do not constitute a thorough rewriting in order to impose a significantly simpler style. The cadence on "carmen" (Example 4.8a above), for example, and the reversal of melodic direction on "Benedictus" (Example 4.9a) change the complexion of their respective melodies, but they have only a limited impact as Adémar isolates a handful of passages and selectively decreases the melismatic texture.

[18] Naturally, the specific pitches in Pa 1120 cannot be guaranteed. It is clear, however, that the final note on "Quod" is higher than the penultimate note, that the first note on the first syllable of "Benedictus" is lower than the preceding note, and that first syllable is set with a *cliuis* whose second note, therefore, is lower than the first note.

Example 4.10. Introit trope *Psallite doctilogum*



Third, and perhaps most interesting, they again show Adémar changing his mind about the shape of a particular melody between his inscriptions of Pa 1121 and 909. This aspect of his editorial activity, more than any other, illustrates that copying, rather than being a mechanical process, is an ongoing evaluative and interpretative procedure, extending to self-revision. And this self-revision forms a response not only to mechanical copying errors but also to substantive features of the musical text, such as liquescence or the repeated notes discussed above. One final example portrays the process at work.[19] (See Example 4.10.) I pass over the liquescent on "quod," which appears in Pa 1120, and which Adémar retains in Pa 1121 but suppresses in Pa 909, to focus attention on the setting of "decet." He originally repeats the note D on the second syllable in Pa 1121's version, in variance with his exemplar Pa 1120. When he wrote Pa 909, he first inscribed the reading of Pa 1121, his variant on the version in Pa 1120; he then erased that reading, thus showing himself to be in the process of changing his mind, and replaced it, in the final version of Pa 909, with the original reading of Pa 1120.

What is significant here is not that Adémar returns to an original or authoritative reading, that of his exemplar Pa 1120. After all, he changed the reading of Pa 1120 in many places in one or both of Pa 1121 or Pa 909, and so, the testimony of a written exemplar does not supersede all other

[19] Introit trope *Psallite doctilogum*, n. 17 above.

factors in the decision-making processes Adémar undertakes when inscribing music. Instead, the music undergoes a continual reassessment by the copyist, Adémar here, to ensure that it accurately conforms with his knowledge of the individual piece and the musical practices and conventions familiar to him. Therefore, the interaction between the visual processes of musical literacy and the psychological processes of oral/aural recollection and reconstruction is very complicated indeed, with each playing its role in turn.

In sum, however, the written tradition of these texted pieces exhibits great stability, with corresponding limitations on Adémar's editorial activity, which I would attribute to several causes. First, Adémar generally evinces confidence in the tradition preserved in Pa 1120 or reverence for its authority, despite the inexactness of the pitch information encoded there. Second, Adémar's neumations are remarkably consistent, first in retaining the melodic forms recorded in Pa 1120 when he produced Pa 1121, and then in faithfully recopying them into Pa 909. As suggested above, the presence of a verbal text may have aided the fidelity of his copying. Third, this pattern of transmission indicates, as argued above in Chapter 2, that musical literacy carries ever increasing importance in Adémar's scribal activity. It has not completely superseded the oral/aural tradition, as his editorial treatment of liquescents and the *oriscus* shows. But musical practices at Saint Martial during Adémar's lifetime became increasingly dependent on the written tradition.

UNTEXTED PIECES: THE COMMISSION AND CORRECTION OF ERROR

The sequentiaries of Pa 1121 and 909 contain numerous scribal errors in their musical texts. Adémar took the opportunity of copying out the sequentiary a second time in Pa 909 to correct some of the errors he had committed in Pa 1121. Unfortunately, the acumen he employed in correcting errors in his first edition of the sequentiary did not prevent him from making fresh ones in his second. One such corruption in Pa 909, caused by a combination of homoeoarchon and homoeoteleuton, is discussed above in Chapter 2, Example 2.8. In fact, the entire range of error that occurs in Pa 1121 and is presented below appears also in Pa 909. Although errors occur somewhat less frequently in the later manuscript, nevertheless, Pa 909, as a witness, is not significantly more reliable than Pa 1121.

The melodic vocabulary of the sequentiae does not easily permit the recognition of error. In the discussion that follows, I endeavour to defend

my identification of a particular reading as an error on several grounds. First, I rely on the testimony of Pa 1871. Probably written at Moissac in the second half of the eleventh century, it is the only securely heighted Aquitanian manuscript known to me that contains a sequentiary not directly derived from either Pa 1121 or Pa 909.[20] The earlier witnesses Pa 1118 and 1084, whose sequentiaries significantly influenced the shaping of Adémar's, do not present a heighting adequately secure, even in their respective sequentiaries where one would expect greater precision, to confirm the readings of either Pa 1121 or 909. And the sequentiary in Pa 887, although probably not produced for use at Saint Martial, clearly belongs to the orbit of the abbey's scriptorium. Therefore, I turn to Pa 1871, where available, to judge the discrepancies between Adémar's two versions.

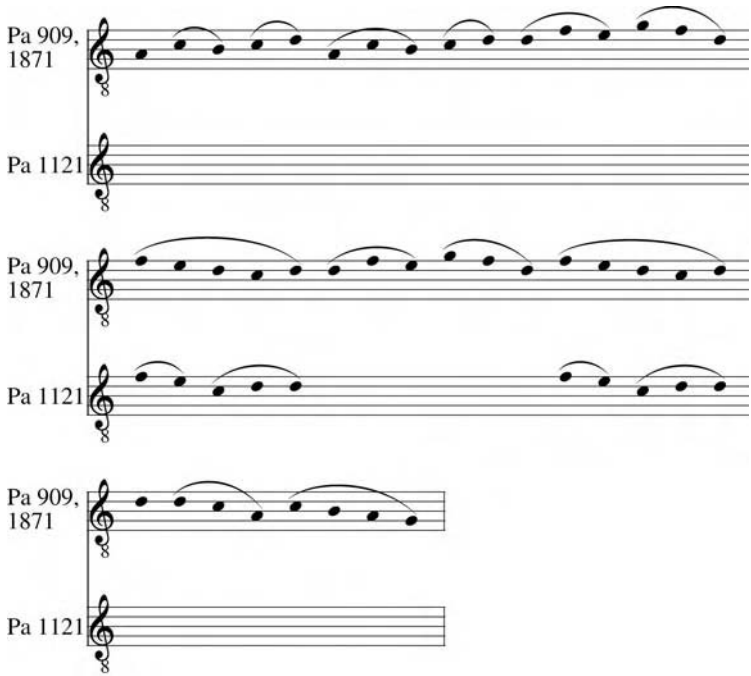
Second, I adduce the general stylistic character of a melody to identify errors within it. This procedure is clearly fraught with dangers on two counts: it leads to a homogenized view of style and it can rapidly become circular in its argument. On one hand, any kind of extraordinary melodic gesture can be castigated as an error simply because it is extraordinary and without parallel, with the result that only conventional readings become accepted. On the other, judging one set of readings by another can lead to circular argument. Which set of readings sets the standard? If their orientation is reversed, then those which were originally found to lie outside the stylistic conventions of a repertory become those which define its stylistic conventions.[21]

Third, in many cases, the testimony of the prosae, the texted versions of these pieces, affords guidance. This evidence is particularly helpful in regard to large-scale formal issues, such as whether a section should be repeated, and to finer details, like the addition or omission of notes from a phrase. The stanzaic structure of the corresponding prosa illuminates questions in the first category, and the number of syllables in the individual phrases provides assistance in the second. Neither is necessarily unequivocal, because there is no absolute requirement that a sequentia should precisely echo its prosa; and, of course, in the second category of questions, the number of syllables in a phrase need not correspond exactly with the number of notes, since prosae often use two- or three-note melismata on individual syllables, or even longer ones. Nevertheless, the

[20] On Pa 1871, see Daux and Morelot, *Deux livres choraux*, pp. 41–120; Daux, ed., *Tropaire-Prosier*; and Bannister, "Un tropaire-prosier."

[21] For discussion of these issues, see Feder, *Musikphilologie*, pp. 90–91; Grier, "Scribal Practices," pp. 388–400, especially 388–89; and *idem*, *The Critical Editing of Music*, pp. 30–36.

Example 4.11. Sequentia *Organicis* strophe 6



number of syllables in a phrase gives an indication, at least, of the minimum number of notes needed. Furthermore, the identifying rubrics in all the Aquitanian sequentiaries, including those copied by Adémar, often include the textual incipits of the prosae sung to the melodies, and so there would seem to be a strong association between the two genres in the minds of the copyists. None of this evidence is definitive, and so, in the discussion below, I provide evidence and argument in support of my judging a particular reading to be an error.

Many local discrepancies in pitch occur between Adémar's two sequentiaries, most caused by incorrect heighting. A more interesting reading falls in the sixth strophe of *Organicis*, for the feast of Saint John the Evangelist.[22] (See Example 4.11.) In two places where Pa 909 gives a lower auxiliary, Adémar had written the conventional cadential figure with the

[22] Pa 1121 fol. 60r, Pa 909 fol. 113r; Edition IXA.7.A.

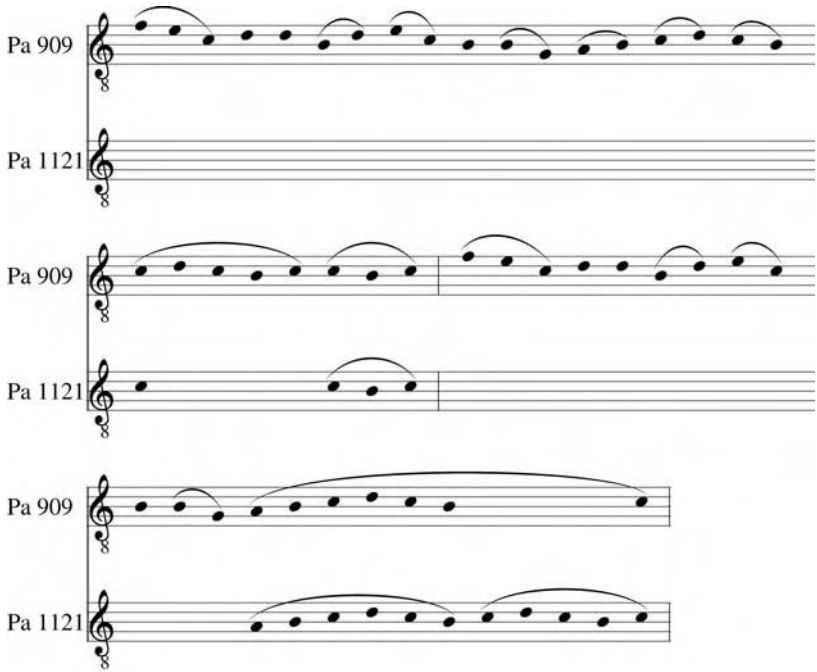
pes stratus in Pa 1121. Although this gesture does not occur exclusively at cadences, as I note in Chapter 2 above, it does create at least a slight pause in the melodic motion with the reiteration of the same pitch. In this particular strophe, that pause might seem all the more prominent because the strophe does not conclude with the usual cadence, but rather with a simple conjunct descent to the cadential pitch.

The agreement of Pa 909 and 1871 (fol. 78v) suggests that their shared reading carries greater authority; moreover, Pa 1118 (fol. 134r) and 1084 (fol. 201r-v), both of which Adémar could have consulted when he copied Pa 1121, give the lower auxiliary figure, as does the proser in Pa 1120 (fol. 113r-v). If the reading of Pa 1121 is a corruption, it does not have a compelling palaeographic explanation, and presumably arose from either Adémar's faulty recollection of the piece or his attempt to articulate the strophe with the slight pauses that result from the application of the *pes stratus*. When he came to produce Pa 909, he reverted to the auxiliary figure. Again, two courses of action could have generated this result. His aural recollection or reconstruction of the melody could have directed him to emend, or he could have returned to one of the earlier codices that contains the auxiliary figure. I suspect that both processes operated in a complementary fashion. He might have been alerted to the possibility of a corruption by his recollection, and then turned to another witness for written confirmation.

One of the dominical sequences, *Corde deuoto*, transmits an error caused by an inversion of music between phrases of the melody.[23] (See Example 4.12.) Adémar abbreviates the penultimate neume in strophe 4 to a single note in Pa 1121, but then interpolates that five-note neume immediately before the cadential pitch at the end of the next strophe. We know that Pa 909 is correct because it accords with the version of the prosa in Pa 1121 (fols. 198v-199r), where the music is written in Adémar's hand. Indeed, I argue below in Chapter 5 that the melody of this sequence was composed by Adémar himself, a circumstance that makes the inversion in the sequentiary of Pa 1121 all the more interesting and once again shows, as I point out in Chapter 2 above, that composers are not always reliable copyists of their own works. In any event, when he was copying Pa 909, his recollection of the melody, and probably its texted

[23] Pa 1121 fol. 68v, Pa 909 fol. 123v; Edition IXA.25.C. For this portion of the melody, the version in Pa 909 is a second lower than that in Pa 1121; I retain the pitch level of the latter because of the overall tonal structure of the melody and have transposed the pitch of Pa 909 in Example 4.12 to facilitate comparison.

Example 4.12. Sequentia *Corde deuoto* strophes 4 and 5



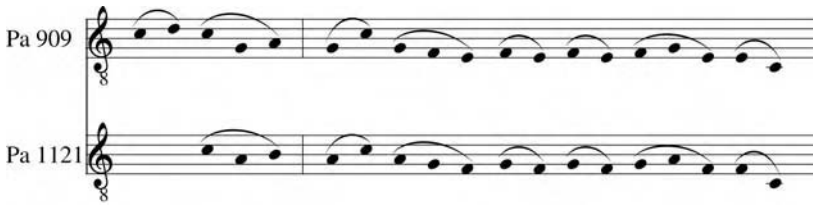
version, was sufficient to indicate that his earlier version in Pa 1121 was faulty, and he corrected it, perhaps by consulting the proser in Pa 1121.

Both Pa 1121 and 909 contain a number of examples of inadvertent transposition. Usually, a single note, either within a neume or not, is incorrectly heighted, and the rest of the piece, consequently, lies at the wrong pitch. Once an error of this type has occurred, it is virtually impossible for the copyist to recover because, in the absence of horizontal staff lines that would provide absolute pitch orientation, the heighting appears to be correct. In fact, an initial error is sometimes compounded by subsequent errors of heighting in the same piece. I would suggest that errors of this type reveal an increasing dependence on visual copying as scribes working primarily from their aural recollection are less likely to write a heighted note that creates an incorrect interval.

A slightly different situation is revealed in another dominical sequence, *Sancte rex*.[24] Adémar seems to have a firm visual location for two notes

[24] Pa 1121 fol. 68r-v, Pa 909 fol. 123v; Edition IXA.25.B.

Example 4.13. Sequentia *Sancte rex* strophes 3 and 4

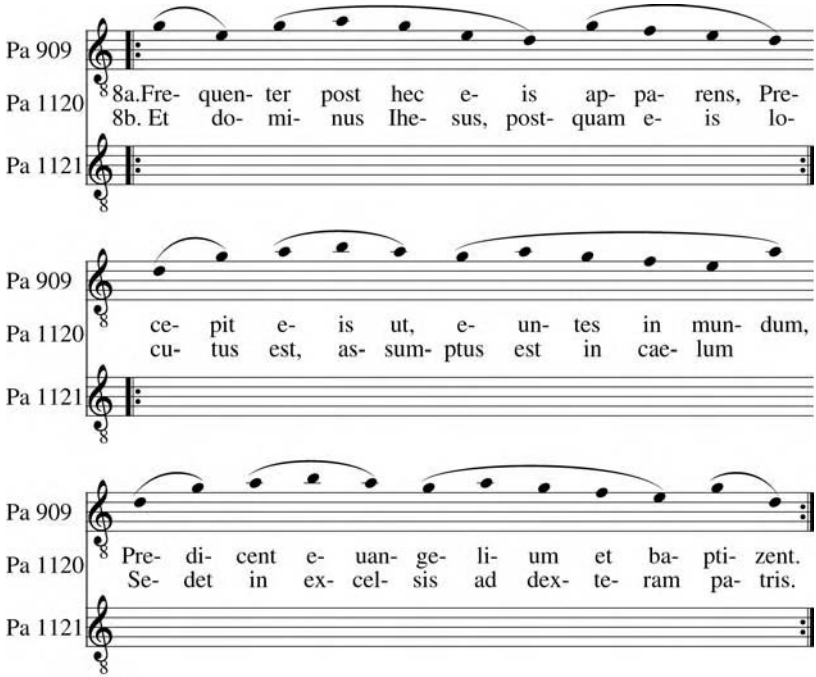


that demark the boundaries of melodic motion, middle C and the C an octave below, but the placement of several notes in between differs in Pa 1121 and 909. (See Example 4.13.) Beginning from the last two notes of strophe 3, the version in Pa 1121 is consistently a second higher than that in Pa 909, with the exception of instances of the note C. After reaching the lower C at the end of the passage, the melody continues at the same pitch level in Pa 1121 and 909. I believe that Pa 909 gives the correct version for two reasons. The version in Pa 1084 (fol. 213r-v), despite its insecure heighting, seems closer to that in Pa 909. More important, however, is the fact that, later in the melody, both Pa 1121 and 909 agree in framing the eventual final D with a descending leap of a third, E–C, which is the gesture that ends the passage illustrated in Example 4.13 according to Pa 909. Chiefly for stylistic reasons, then, I prefer its reading. Irrespective of which version is correct, however, this passage presents securely heighted boundary notes around other pitches about whose level Adémar had two different opinions.

The repetitive structure of several of the sequences varies in both texted and untexted forms; and Adémar's two neumations of the sequentiae in Pa 1121 and 909 sometimes differ in their treatment of repeats. As is generally the custom in Aquitanian sequentiaries, Adémar does not write out twice passages that are to be repeated immediately in succession; instead, he, and other Aquitanian scribes, write the letter *d*, signifying *denuo*, *duplex* or *dis*, at the end of the section that is to be sung twice.[25] A combination of variants in the repeat structure occurs in the Pentecost sequence *Nunc exultet*.[26] First, at the end of strophe 6, Pa 909 indicates a repeat, but Pa 1121 does not. The stanzaic structure of the prosa, however,

[25] Blume and Bannister, "Vorwort und Einleitung," *AH* 53: pp. XXIV–XXV; and Bannister, *Anglo-French Sequelae*, p. 7.
[26] Pa 1121 fol. 62r, Pa 909 fol. 116r; Edition IXA.13.C.

Example 4.14. Sequence *Nunc exultet* strophe 8

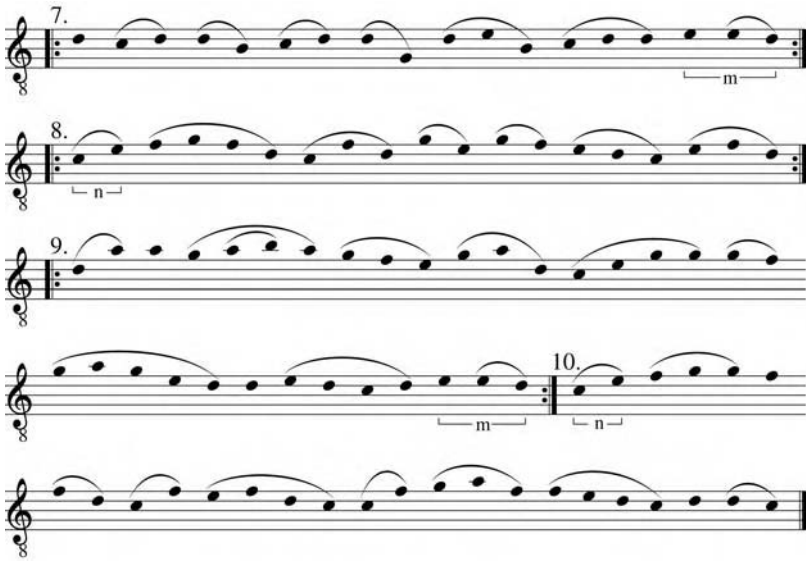


requires the repetition of this strophe.[27] Then, midway through strophe 8, Pa 1121 calls for a repeat that divides the music in such a way that the text of the prosa, as transmitted in Pa 1120 (fols. 150r-151r) cannot be reasonably applied to it. (See Example 4.14.)

First, the repeat signalled in Pa 1121 cuts the word "Precepit"; second, if the first phrase is made to end with "apparens" (by creating a binary neume from two of the *puncta* somewhere in the phrase), there are not enough notes in it to set the entire second section of text, "Precepit" through "in mundum"; third, even if the first phrase is manipulated to set these two sections of text, ending "in mundum," the balance of the music, beginning with the first occurrence of the binary neume D–G, does not contain enough notes to set the next section of text, "Predicent" through "locutus est," and conversely far too many notes for the rest of the text,

[27] Text of *Nunc exultet*: *AH* 7: no. 83 pp. 96–97; *AH* 53: no. 73 pp. 126–29.

Example 4.15. Sequentia *Coaequalis* strophes 7–10



"assumptus est" (which lacks an initial and so is not designated as the beginning of a section) through "ad dexteram patris." Consequently, for the version of the text found in Pa 1120, Pa 909 gives the only tenable musical setting. Adémar, when he wrote Pa 909, therefore, appears to have corrected the errors in the repetitive structure of Pa 1121's version from his knowledge of the texted version.

Finally, another dominical sequentia, and original composition of Adémar's, *Coaequalis*, exhibits a significant omission in Pa 1121 caused by a combination of homoeoarchon and homoeoteleuton.[28] (See Example 4.15.) This error is precisely parallel to the one Adémar committed in copying *Ad celebres* into Pa 909, discussed above in Chapter 2, Example 2.8. The ending of strophe 7 of *Coaequalis* and the beginning of strophe 8 (marked **m** and **n**, respectively, in Example 4.15) are identical to the cadence of strophe 9 and the opening of strophe 10 (also marked **m** and **n**, respectively). When he copied the version in Pa 1121, he slipped from the ending of strophe 7 to that of strophe 9, continued copying strophe 10, and omitted strophes 8 and 9.

[28] Pa 1121 fol. 69r, Pa 909 fol. 124r-v; Edition IXA.25.G.

But the mechanism by which the error occurred here may be different. Adémar was probably copying *Ad celebres* into Pa 909 from a written exemplar, Pa 1121 in all likelihood, when he visually confused the transition from strophe 6 to 7 and that between strophes 7 and 8, omitting strophe 7 in the process. I believe he composed the melody of *Coaequalis*, however, and so there was probably no written exemplar from which he could copy the version in Pa 1121, unless he consulted the texted version that occurs in the proser of Pa 1121 (fol. 200r-v) with music in his own hand. The presence of the text, however, would make it more difficult to commit the kind of error posited here. Still, the two strophes that are omitted from the sequentia occur, in the proser, at the top of fol. 200v, immediately after the page turn, and their physical location in Pa 1121 may have contributed to the commission of the error.

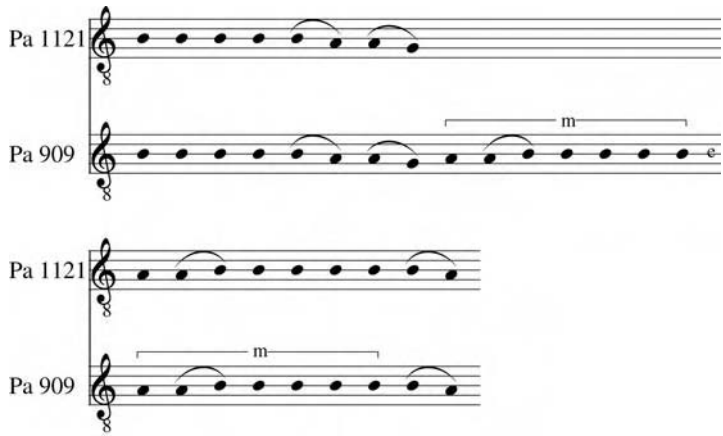
I suspect that the error occurred while Adémar was imagining the melody in his mind, aurally recollecting it, and copying it from his recollection. When he came to the cadence of strophe 7, he confused it with that of strophe 9, a confusion that was compounded by the identical openings of strophes 8 and 10. Thus, the error was caused in the same way as that in Pa 909's version of *Ad celebres*, through a combination of homoeoarchon and homoeoteleuton. But the mechanism for the error was not visual, as in that case, but mental. Adémar's recollection of his own melody was sharper when he came to copy Pa 909, and, possibly through consultation of the texted version in Pa 1121, he reinserted the omitted passage.

The range of error found in Pa 1121 and its correction in Pa 909 suggest very different copying and editorial processes in the untexted repertory from those in the texted genres. Entirely idiosyncratic to the sequentia are the errors in the repetitive structure. These seem to arise from general uncertainty regarding the structure of the piece rather than scribal error. Other errors, such as inadvertent transposition or the large-scale omission illustrated in Example 4.15, affect large sections of the musical text. No errors of comparable scale occur in the texted repertories copied by Adémar. I would attribute errors of this type to the perceptual difficulties involved in copying long, undifferentiated lines of neumes, unarticulated by the presence of a literary text.

UNTEXTED PIECES: EDITORIAL CORRECTION

In addition to the silent corrections that Adémar incorporated into Pa 909, discussed above, he also made retrospective corrections to both Pa

Example 4.16. Sequentia *Adest nempe* strophe 11



1121 and 909, presumably in the course of their production. In each case treated here, Adémar had originally entered a corrupt reading into either Pa 1121 or 909, which he then erased to restore the reading of the other manuscript. He must, therefore, have recognized, during some kind of proofreading phase, that a particular reading in one of his autographs was incorrect, which he then sought to rectify, presumably by consulting the other manuscript. I distinguish this group of corrections from those just discussed, in which Adémar correctly perceived the reading of Pa 1121 to be faulty while copying Pa 909 and simply introduced the correct reading into his new copy.

I begin with several examples from Pa 909. The explanation for these emendations is relatively simple. Adémar errs in his original inscription of the melody. When he looks back at his exemplar, presumably Pa 1121, either by chance or during a systematic proofreading of his new copy, he observes his error and corrects it. Several in this group involve the erasure or correction of individual notes, such as would happen in the manual reproduction of any text. These are unremarkable. Others reveal a certain perspicuity on Adémar's part. A dittography, for example, occurs in the sequentia of variable assignment *Adest nempe*, in which a page turn played a role.[29] (See Example 4.16.)

[29] Pa 1121 fol. 65r-v, Pa 909 fol. 205r-v; Edition IXA.24.E.

Example 4.17. Sequentia *Ad celebres* strophe 8

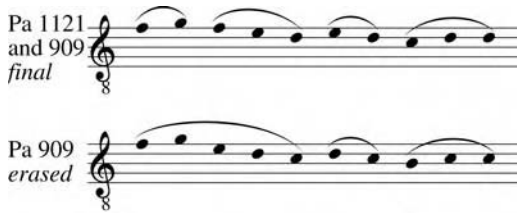
Codex Pa 1121 provides the correct reading, as the text of the prosa shows.[30] In copying Pa 909, Adémar first wrote the passage beginning with a single *punctum* on A and extending through the four *puncta* on B (marked **m** in Example 4.16) at the end of the last rule on fol. 205r. Next, anticipating the binary neume B–A, he finished the line with the *custos* formed by the letter *e*, signifying *equaliter* or unison between the last note on the page and the first on the next. Then, he turned the page and wrote the same seven notes (also marked **m**) a second time to begin the first rule on fol. 205v. Finally, he noticed that this passage was required only once, and he turned back to fol. 205r to erase the final seven notes and the *custos* at the end of the line.

In the sequentia for Saint Michael, *Ad celebres*, Adémar avoids an error of assimilation through perseveration at a line end.[31] (See Example 4.17.) The binary neume E–D ends the first line on fol. 121v of Pa 909. Immediately after it, Adémar wrote the letter *e*, functioning as a *custos* to indicate a unison between the last note of the line and the first of the following line. The correct pitch for the first note of line 2, however, is F, and Adémar subsequently erased the *e* to replace it with a normal *custos* at the requisite height above the final note of line 1. The error may have arisen because of two instances in strophes 5 and 6 where the two-note figure E–D is followed by repeated notes on the pitch D. At the end of line 1 on fol. 121v, Adémar guessed that the next pitch would again be D, but then corrected Pa 909 from a renewed consultation of Pa 1121, where this passage occupies the middle of a rule.

Finally, the end of a page, and indeed a gathering, in Pa 909 may have alerted Adémar to the presence of an error of heighting in his copy of *Ad templi huius*, a sequentia for the Dedication of a Church.[32] (See Example 4.18.) Adémar copied the three-note figure F–E–D a second too low in Pa 909 and then continued to the end of fol. 125v with this

[30] Text of *Adest nempe*: *AH* 7: no. 229 pp. 251–52.
[31] Pa 1121 fol. 66v, Pa 909 fol. 121r-v; Edition IXA.20.A.
[32] Pa 1121 fol. 70r, Pa 909 fols. 125v, 198r; Edition IXA.26.D.

Example 4.18. Sequentia *Ad templi huius* strophe 6

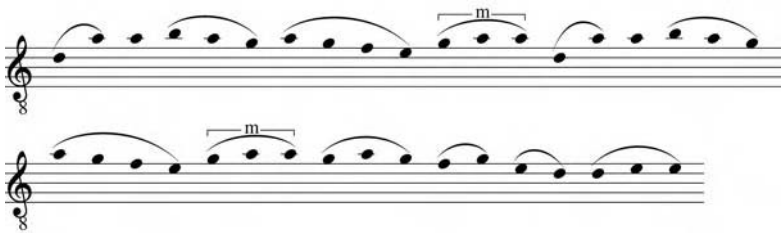


incorrect heighting. This folio is the last of the second gathering in the sequentiary of Pa 909, and, to continue the piece, Adémar obviously needed to begin a new gathering. This is now misplaced to begin at fol. 198, but it originally was to have followed the current fol. 125, as the continuation of *Ad templi huius* from the bottom of fol. 125v to the top of fol. 198r shows. When he was ready to resume copying in the new gathering, Adémar presumably looked back at Pa 1121 and saw that he had misheighted the last notes on fol. 125v, which he then erased and replaced with notes at the correct pitch.

These reconstructions of Adémar's copying procedures follow from the fact that he produced Pa 909 after Pa 1121, and the assumption that the latter served as the written exemplar for the former. The correction of copying errors in Pa 909 from its exemplar constitutes a natural stage in the reproduction of texts: a scribe compares the newly copied text with its exemplar and corrects discrepancies. Where Adémar has corrected the text of Pa 1121 to make it agree with Pa 909, however, it is less clear how he proceeded. The corrections in Pa 1121 could have been entered at any time between its production and the copying of Pa 909, or at any time after he completed work on Pa 909. Yet, the creation of a new copy of the sequentiary in Pa 909 provided Adémar with the opportunity to review the versions of the melodies he copied into Pa 1121. Above, I note how he silently made many corrections in Pa 909 of errors committed in the copying of Pa 1121. It is entirely possible that he would also profit from the occasion to correct some of the readings in Pa 1121 that he noticed to be faulty.

All the instances I observed where Pa 1121 has been corrected in Adémar's hand involve brief passages of one to three notes. This pattern is consistent with the occasional corrections a scribe might effect in an exemplar during the copying of a new witness. Furthermore, most of the corrections (four out of the six I noted) appear in a tight group of sequentiae for Ascension and Pentecost that occur over three folios in

Example 4.19. Sequentia *Rex omnipotens* strophe 12, Pa 1121 fol. 61v



Pa 1121 and two in Pa 909.[33] I would suggest that these indicate that Adémar was particularly diligent in his scrutiny of the readings in Pa 1121 while he copied these two folios of Pa 909. Beginning from this hypothesis, then, my reconstruction of the copying procedure is as follows: in consulting Pa 1121 as the exemplar during the copying of Pa 909, Adémar notices, from his knowledge of the melody, that the former contains a corrupt reading; he makes the correction in Pa 1121 and silently enters the correct reading in Pa 909.

A good example occurs in the sequentia for Ascension, *Rex omnipotens*, where Adémar has corrected an error of assimilation through perseveration in Pa 1121.[34] (See Example 4.19.) Strophe 12 opens with two parallel statements through the four-note descending neume A–G–F–E. The first statement then ends with the *pes stratus* G–A–A (marked **m** in Example 4.19), providing an internal articulation of the strophe. Adémar then incorrectly introduced the same cadential figure at the end of the second statement (also marked **m**), which he subsequently erased. The second statement avoids closure at the analogous point, and continues with a contrasting melodic extension to a cadence on D. One can never know for certain when an erasure was made, or even by whom. For example, both Pa 1118 (fol. 137v) and 1084 (fols. 205v-206r), the two witnesses Adémar is most likely to have consulted during the production of Pa 1121, transmit the correct reading, and he might have emended Pa 1121 on the basis of his consulting one or both of them. Nevertheless, it would seem logical that Adémar's best chance for such a revision would arise when he was producing Pa 909,

[33] Ascension: *Rex omnipotens* (Pa 1121 fol. 61v, Pa 909 fol. 115r; Edition IXA.12.A). Pentecost: *Salue regnans*, *Nunc exultet* and *Laudiflua* (Pa 1121 fols. 62r-63r, Pa 909 fols. 115v-116v; Edition IXA.13.B-D). The other two sequentiae that have corrections in Pa 1121 that bring its reading into agreement with Pa 909 are: *Vexilla martirum* for All Saints (Pa 1121 fol. 67r, Pa 909 fol. 122r; Edition IXA.23.B) and *Iam deprome*, a dominical sequentia (Pa 1121 fol. 68v, Pa 909 fol. 124r; Edition IXA.25.D).

[34] See n. 33 above.

noticed a discrepancy between his aural reconstruction of the melody and the version in Pa 1121, and corrected it.

These examples from the production of Pa 1121 and 909 show that Adémar rarely copied music in a purely mechanical process. He often subjected the melodies he was inscribing to a comparison with the neumations of his exemplar (most notably Pa 1121 in the case of the copying of Pa 909) and with his own aural reconstruction or recollection of them. In the latter case, he sometimes found the version in his exemplar faulty and either corrected it silently in the new copy (Pa 909 when copying from Pa 1121) or, in the event the corruption involved only a few notes, he also emended the exemplar, Pa 1121. Adémar copied visually in the first instance, as I discuss above in Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter, but he did not hesitate to correct when necessary.

UNTEXTED PIECES: EDITORIAL REVISION

In other instances where Pa 1121 and 909 disagree, it is not always clear that Adémar considered either to be in error. At least some of these constitute editorial revision in the sense that each reading represents what Adémar thought to be correct at the time of inscription, and that the revisions reveal his subsequent reconsideration of the reading. Several of these passages involve the presence or absence of liquescents in the texted portions of the partially texted sequentiae. Adémar's practice here agrees in substance with what I observe above in texted pieces: his application of liquescence in each neumation followed his current thinking about declamation and vocal delivery. And each of the two sources has roughly the same number of liquescents where the other source lacks the vocal nuance. Therefore, there is no discernible chronology in his treatment of the gesture: he is just as likely to add a liquescent in Pa 909 where none occurred in Pa 1121 as he is to suppress one that exists in the earlier source.

Where Pa 1121 and 909 originally agreed and Adémar has altered the former to disagree with the latter, it is clear that Adémar considered both readings to be of equal merit. Such is the case in *Regnantem*, a sequentia for the second Sunday of Advent.[35] Early in the fourth strophe, both witnesses give a ternary neume B–A–G. But in Pa 1121, the first note, B, was first cancelled with a penstroke that appears to be in the same ink as the music and text in Adémar's hand, and then erased, leaving the binary

[35] Pa 1121 fol. 58r, Pa 909 fol. 111r; Edition IXA.2.B.

neume A–G. The erasure presumably occurred sometime before the production of Pa 1134 (fol. 107v), because it reproduces the binary neume in agreement with the revised reading in Pa 1121, which I take to be its exemplar.

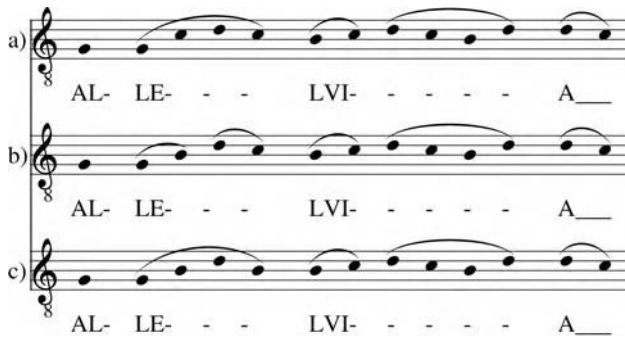
We cannot demand absolute consistency from Adémar or any other scribe. Nevertheless, if most of his revisions to Pa 1121 occurred while he was copying Pa 909 from it, as posited above, and this revision was included among them, we ought to expect that he would have corrected this reading in both sequentiaries if he felt it to be a corruption. Still, there is other evidence of the status of these two readings. The rest of the Aquitanian witnesses for this sequentia agree with Pa 909 and the original reading of Pa 1121; the only exception is Pa 1134, mentioned above as a direct copy of Pa 1121 in its revised state. Moreover, the associated prosa requires the B to accommodate the text of the relevant stanza.[36] I deduce, therefore, that Adémar felt ambivalent about this reading, believing that each version held some merit.

The association of a sequentia melody with more than one prosa text may have generated a variant in the Marian sequentia *Claris uocibus*.[37] In the sixth strophe, Pa 1121 preserves a ternary neume, C–E–D, that is missing from Pa 909. The prosa *Claris uocibus*, the text most commonly sung with this melody, requires these three notes in both half-verses of stanza 5.[38] Yet some versions of the text exhibit variants that call into question the status of this neume. The word *sacrata*, to which these notes are sung in the first half-verse, is missing from Pa 1138; and *omnino*, in the corresponding place of the second half-verse, is lacking in Pa 1084.

Furthermore, two other prosae, *Virgo Israel* and *Christo inclita*, use the same melody and do not require this three-note figure in the corresponding part of the text (stanza 6 in the former, stanza 5 in the latter).[39] In addition, the sequentiaries in Pa 1084 and 1871, both of which lack the ternary neume, transmit the specific label *Virgo Israel*, to which is added in Pa 1871 *Christo inclita*, before their respective versions of the sequentia. Therefore, I take the discrepancy between Pa 1121 and 909 to represent the two versions of the melody: *Claris uocibus* with the ternary neume as in Pa 1121; *Virgo Israel* and *Christo inclita* without it as in Pa 909.

[36] Text of *Regnantem*: *AH* 7: no. 7 p. 30.
[37] Pa 1121 fol. 66v, Pa 909 fols. 120v-121r; Edition IXA.18.F.
[38] Text of *Claris uocibus*: *AH* 7: no. 104 pp. 118–19.
[39] Texts of V*irgo Israel* and *Christo inclita*: *AH* 7: no. 102 pp. 116–17, no. 118 pp. 132–33, respectively. On the identity of the melodies for these three prosae, see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:25, 27 and 78.

Example 4.20. Sequence *Corde deuoto* and alleluia with verse *Te decet*
(a) Sequentia, Pa 1121 fol. 86v; prosa, Pa 1121 fols. 198v–199r; Alleluia, Pa 1121 fol. 185r-v, Pa 1132 fol. 97v, Pa 1134 fol. 57v, Pa 1136 fol. 88r-v, Pa 1137 fol. 21r, Pa 903 fols. 121v–122r,
(b) Sequentia, Pa 909 fol. 123v; Alleluia, Pa 909 fol. 187v, Pa 1135 fol. 141r-v, Pa 780 fols. 110v and 129r, Pa 1177 fols. 40v–41r,
(c) Alleluia, Lo 4951 fol. 254r-v, Pa 776 fol. 127r-v, Pa 1084 fol. 192r-v



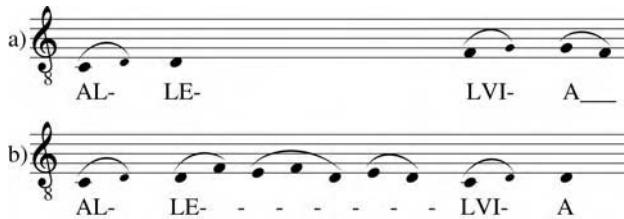
Perhaps the most interesting of the editorial choices Adémar made in the production of these two sequentiaries is his treatment of several of the Alleluia incipits that form the openings of sequentiae. In two instances, the variant between versions of the Alleluia and of the sequentia is slight, involving one or two notes. For example, the dominical sequence *Corde deuoto*, whose melody I attribute to Adémar, opens with the incipit of the *Alleluia* ℣ *Te decet*.[40] In the libelli of sequentiae, prosae and Alleluias in Pa 1121, Adémar gives one version of the melody, while in Pa 909, which contains the sequentia and Alleluia, he gives another. The variant involves a single note in the setting of the second syllable of "ALLELVIA." (See Example 4.20.)

Example 4.20 shows that good manuscript support exists for both readings in Pa 1121 and 909, and that a third reading also enjoys strong attestation. Each of the three competing readings is credible on stylistic grounds. A similar variant occurs in the sequentiae *Iubilemus omnes* and *Alme Christe* for the fourth Sunday of Advent, both of which open with the incipit of *Alleluia* ℣ *Paratum*.[41] Again, the Aquitanian evidence is divided on the two

[40] Sequentia: Pa 1121 fol. 68v, Pa 909 fol. 123v. Prosa: Pa 1121 fols. 198v-199r. See Edition IXA.25.C. *Alleluia* ℣ *Te decet*: Pa 1121 fol. 185r-v, Pa 909 fol. 187v. See Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 360, pp. 230–31; *MMMA* 7:495–98; and Edition App.C.35.

[41] *Iubilemus omnes*: Pa 1121 fol. 58r-v, Pa 909 fol. 111r-v. *Alme Christe*: Pa 1121 fol. 58v, Pa 909 fol. 111v. See Edition IXA.4.A and B, respectively. *Alleluia* ℣ *Paratum*: Pa 909 fol. 189v. See Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 203, pp. 161–62; *MMMA* 7:372–73; and Edition App.C.4. This melody

Example 4.21. Sequentiae *Laudiflua* and *Laudum da falanx* (a) Pa 1121 fols. 62v-63r, (b) Pa 909 fol. 116r-v



readings. Adémar clearly knew both traditions in the case of each Alleluia melody, and shaped both Alleluia and sequence differently according to the version he preferred at the time he produced Pa 1121 and 909.

Altogether different in scope is the variant that exists in the sequentia *Laudiflua* for Pentecost (the melody of which also circulates with the prosa *Laudum da falanx* for Saint Martial). In Pa 1121, in agreement with all other Aquitanian sequentiaries except two (Pa 909 and 1136), the melody begins with the incipit of *Alleluia* ℣ *Dies sanctificatus*. This version represents the wider Aquitanian tradition, as attested by Adémar himself in his version of the melody in Pa 1121. When he came to write it into Pa 909, however, he chose to substitute the much more elaborate incipit of *Alleluia* ℣ *Apparuerunt*, from which it was copied into Pa 1136. Adémar acknowledges and emphasizes the difference between the two versions by supplying, in Pa 909, the rubric "APPARVERVNT."[42] (See Example 4.21.) This would appear to be a significant and radical revision of the melody on Adémar's part. I know of no other sequence in the Aquitanian repertory that has a dual allegiance to two Alleluia incipits.

does not appear in the libellus of Alleluias in Pa 1121 with this verse, but it does occur twice with other verses, *Adducentur* (fol. 183v) and *Veni domine* (fol. 210v); both times it agrees with the sequentia in Pa 1121.

[42] Pa 1121 fols. 62v-63r, Pa 909 fol. 116r-v. See Edition IXA.13.D. *Alleluia* ℣ *Dies sanctificatus*: Pa 1121 fols. 184v-185r, 210v; Pa 909 fol. 191r. See Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 27, pp. 78–81; *MMMA* 7:118–20; and Edition App.C.16. *Alleluia* ℣ *Apparuerunt*: Pa 1121 fol. 216r; Pa 909 fol. 175r-v. See Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 15, p. 74; *MMMA* 7:13–14; and Edition App.C.17. Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:48, states that "The Alleluia-incipit corresponds roughly to the Alleluia with V. Apparuerunt, 1121.216, and is so labelled in some Sequentiaria." Only Pa 909, among the Aquitanian sequentiaries, gives this rubric, and Crocker, *ibid.*, 2:202, gives, as the incipit of the sequence melody, the opening of *Alleluia* ℣ *Dies sanctificatus*. On *Laudum da falanx*, see Crocker, *ibid.*, 2:48; he gives, *ibid.*, 2:203, as its incipit, a melody very much like the opening of *Alleluia* ℣ *Dies sanctificatus*.

There are two possible reasons for Adémar's substitution. First, Adémar may simply have preferred the more elaborate melody of *Alleluia* ℣ *Apparuerunt*. Second, *Alleluia* ℣ *Dies sanctificatus* provides the incipit of another sequence, *Veneranda die ista*, for Christmas. It circulated in southern Aquitaine and Adémar copied it into the appendix of his sequentiary in Pa 1121.[43] He may have chosen an alternative opening for *Laudiflua* in order to distinguish the two sequences for the sake of contrast and because they do not share liturgical assignment. There are instances of Aquitanian sequences that open with the same Alleluia incipit, those for the first Sunday of Advent, for example, which use the opening of *Alleluia* ℣ *Ostende nobis* for the same feast. Most commonly, however, such sequences share liturgical assignment. In the case of *Laudiflua* and *Veneranda die ista*, then, Adémar may have wished to make a clearer distinction between their melodies because they were sung on different feasts.

A stranger situation occurs in Adémar's two versions of the Easter sequentia *Fulgens praeclara*.[44] In both Pa 1121 and 909, Adémar left room for the last two strophes, but entered no music. A later hand has supplied it in Pa 1121, but Pa 909 remains blank. Adémar clearly knew this music. It occurs in Pa 1118 (fols. 135v-136r) and 1084 (fol. 204r-v), two sources known to him, and he laid out both of his own sequentiaries to receive it. Moreover, all five of the later Aquitanian sequentiaries that derive from Adémar's two manuscripts include the final strophes.[45] Further, there is no compelling palaeographic reason for Adémar to have omitted the phrase through scribal error. Therefore, on two occasions, after preparing the manuscript to accept it, and after observing the presence of the music in Pa 1118 and 1084, Adémar decided not to include it.

His indecision may have arisen from the two different versions of the literary text that survive for the ending of the piece. One version, found only at Saint Martial in Pa 1240, 1120 and 1119, includes a penultimate stanza (stanza 15) that comprises two half-versicles, each of sixteen syllables.[46] Adémar would have known this version from Pa 1120. Codices Pa 1118 and 1084 present a more complex transmission. Each contains

[43] Pa 1121 fol. 70r-v; see Edition IXB.3.A. It also occurs in Pa 1118 fol. 133r-v and 140r, Pa 1084 fol. 212v, Pa 887 fol. 88r, and Pa 1871 fol. 77v.

[44] Pa 1121 fols. 60v-61r, Pa 909 fols. 113v-114r; Edition IXA.11.A.

[45] Pa 1133 fols. 61v, 64r-v; Pa 1134 fols. 110r-v, 116r; Pa 1135 fol. 3r; Pa 1136 fols. 93v-94r, 96r; and Pa 1137 fol. 42r-v.

[46] Pa 1240 fols. 49rb-50va, Pa 1120 fols. 116r-117r, and Pa 1119 fols. 160v-163r. See *AH* 7: no. 44 pp. 57–59; and Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:35–36.

Fulgens praeclara as a sequentia (as noted above) and as a prosa.[47] In texted form, both witnesses present the more widely disseminated version of the ending, whose stanza 15 consists of half-versicles of fourteen syllables each, set with a melody different from that in Pa 1120. In contrast, the untexted version of that strophe in each source comprises sixteen notes and corresponds to the melody given in Pa 1120. Again, Adémar would have known all four versions in Pa 1118 and 1084. In the face of this confusion of versions, texted and untexted, he declined to choose between the two possibilities and simply omitted this and the following strophe from both Pa 1121 and 909.

With the exception of these last two examples, Adémar did not make significant editorial revisions to the musical texts of the sequentiae he copied into Pa 1121 and 909. He corrected perceived errors in both sequentiaries, drawing extensively on his knowledge of the melodies in performance. He entered silent corrections in Pa 909 of errors he recognized in Pa 1121, and occasionally, he returned to Pa 1121, presumably as he was copying Pa 909, to correct errors of limited scope there. True editorial revision, however, was confined to the use of liquescence (analogous to his practice in copying texted music), the substitution of a more elaborate opening from a different Alleluia melody for the sequentia *Laudiflua*, the omission of the last two strophes of *Fulgens praeclara*, and a handful of examples that involve the adjustment of a note or two.

*

In summary, then, Adémar's scribal procedure betrays an essentially conservative approach. He exploits the developing technology of musical notation to preserve melodies as he observed them in his written exemplars, and as he remembered or reconstructed them from his practical knowledge. The stability of the texted pieces he incorporated into Pa 1121 and 909 from his exemplar Pa 1120, and the overall agreement between Pa 1121 and 909 attest a confidence in and respect for the written tradition they transmit. Simultaneously, the written form of these melodies passes through the editorial filter of Adémar's practical experience with them, and it is here that he exercises some discretion. For the most part, his editorial activities remain within a limited scope; he suppresses or adds an *oriscus* occasionally and changes the pitch of a handful of notes, rarely with great effect on the overall melodic complexion of a chant.

[47] Prosa: Pa 1118 fols. 176r-177v, Pa 1084 fols. 243r-244v.

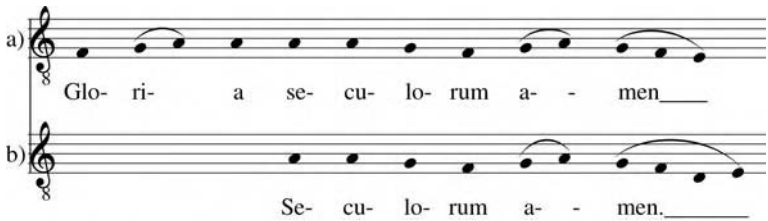
Adémar's conservative leaning appears most prominent in his correction of scribal error in the sequentiaries of Pa 1121 and 909. His goal, like that of all copyists, was to create as accurate a copy of the repertory as possible. When he observed the presence of corruption in the text of Pa 1121, he emended Pa 909, sometimes retrospectively correcting Pa 1121 along the way. These actions are not remarkable in a music scribe. What is remarkable, however, is Adémar's perspicuity in identifying errors in the undulating musical texts of the sequentiae. He had no authoritative written exemplar, as he did, for example, in the case of the texted pieces he had copied from Pa 1120, on which he could depend for this process of emendation. He had to rely, instead, on his own knowledge of the melodies as a singer. From that resource, he was able to make significant improvements to the musical texts of the sequentiary.

Two instances of Adémar's editorial activity stand outside this essentially conservative attitude. The first is the one substantive melodic change he made in the entire repertory of Pa 1121 and 909, and that is the substitution of a more elaborate Alleluia incipit in the sequence *Laudiflua*. I speculate above on his motivation for this change; here, I would only point out that it remains exceptional, within the context of Adémar's editorial practices, by its singularity. The second area in which Adémar felt freer to act is liquescence. In texted pieces and in the verses of the partially texted sequentiae, he applied liquescents according to his own perceptions of the needs of vocal delivery and textual declamation. These perceptions often ran contrary to what his written exemplars preserved, principally Pa 1120, and he sometimes contradicted himself by following different practices in Pa 1121 and 909. In particular, he strongly rejected the idiosyncratic use of liquescents in the proser of Pa 1120 as a form of melodic ornamentation.

EDITING THE DIVINE OFFICE: PA 909

For some of the pieces in the Offices of Martial and Valérie that Adémar wrote in Pa 909, earlier neumed versions exist in Pa 1240 (Martial, fols. 96r-97r) and Pa 1085 (Valérie, fols. 7v-9r; and Martial, fols. 76v-77r). Aside from the apostolic modifications, which I treat in Chapter 3 above, these items exhibit modest variants similar to Adémar's editorial interventions in other texted pieces such as tropes. One alteration is exceptional and illustrates one aspect of his editorial activity. The Psalm tones to which the Psalms in antiphonal psalmody of the Mass and Office are sung constitute a central application of medieval modal theory. To each of the

Example 4.22. Differentiae for the antiphon *Alma uirgo* (a) Pa 1085 fol. 7v, (b) Pa 909 fol. 251v



eight ecclesiastical modes belongs one of these melodic formulae, which is then applied to Psalms that are introduced by an antiphon that belongs to the corresponding mode. In turn, each of the formulae has a limited number of terminations that link the end of the Psalm tone with the beginning of the antiphon; these are called *differentiae*. Each item of antiphonal psalmody, therefore, consists of an antiphon, classified in one of the eight modes, a Psalm that is sung to the Psalm tone of that mode, and a *differentia* chosen from among the group that belongs to the mode.

Adémar, in his Offices for Martial, Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard in Pa 909 and 1978, does not indicate the *differentia* with which the Psalm tone ends. The tonary of Pa 909, however, gives a full list of the *differentiae* for each mode with a large number of antiphons to which the *differentiae* are to be assigned.[48] Adémar wrote the music in this tonary and he clearly had a great deal of discretion as to its content and organization because he erased a number of the entries made by the principal scribe and replaced them with textual incipits in his own hand.[49] It is fair to say, therefore, that this tonary provides an authoritative source for Adémar's views on modal classification during the years 1028–29 when he was participating in the production of Pa 909.

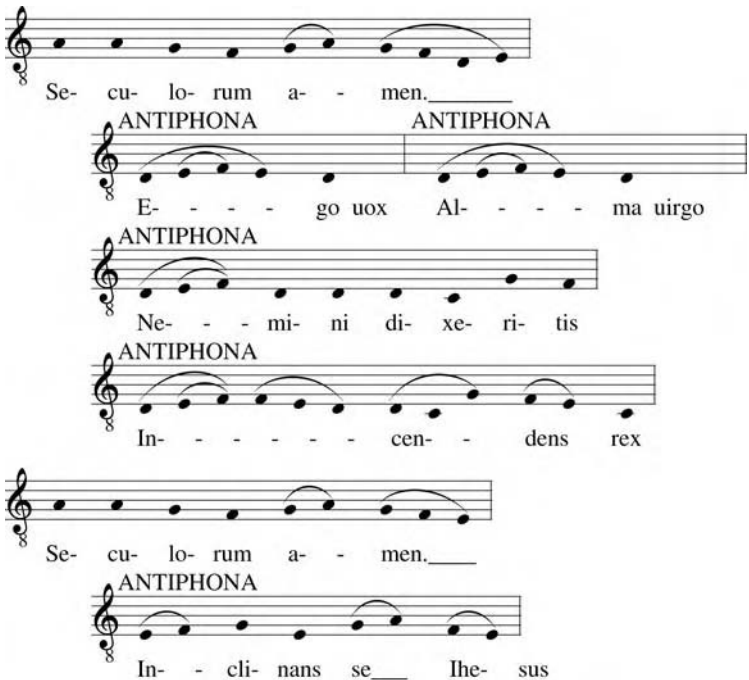
The antiphon *Alma uirgo* is one of a handful of chants composed specifically for the Office of Valérie in Pa 1085 and subsequently incorporated by Adémar into his new patronal Office for the saint in Pa 909.[50] The scribe of Pa 1085 provided a full neumation for the chant, including the *differentia* for the Psalm tone. (See Example 4.22.) *Alma uirgo* is among

[48] Pa 909 fols. 251r-257v. On this tonary in general, see Russell, "The Southern French Tonary," pp. 39–40, 43–44, 46; Huglo, *Les tonaires*, pp. 154–55; and Merkley, *Modal Assignment*, pp. 50–53. It is transcribed in full in Edition App.E.

[49] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 101, 103; and "*Scriptio interrupta*," p. 240.

[50] Pa 1085 fol. 7v, Pa 909 fol. 81r. Discussed above in Chapter 3.

Example 4.23. Excerpt from the tonary in Pa 909 fol. 251v



the antiphons listed as samples with the *differentiae* that belong to mode 1 in the tonary of Pa 909 (fol. 251v) and Adémar assigns it to another *differentia*, given as Example 4.22b. The *differentia* given in Pa 1085 with *Alma uirgo* also appears in the tonary of Pa 909 (fol. 251v), immediately after the *differentia* to which *Alma uirgo* is assigned. So Adémar knew both and he would have known of the decision by the scribe of Pa 1085 to provide the *differentia* given in Example 4.22a. What prompted him to concur with the principal scribe of Pa 909 and alter the *differentia* assigned to *Alma uirgo*?

The list of antiphons assigned to these two *differentiae* in the tonary of Pa 909 may explain the rationale. (See Example 4.23.) All the antiphons that the principal scribe of Pa 909, with the assistance of Adémar as music scribe, assigns to the *differentia* given as Example 4.22b have several features in common: (1) they all begin on the final D; (2) they all begin with an ascent through the minor third D–E–F by means of the *quilisma*; and (3) they all immediately return to the final after the ascent to F, most by conjunct motion, but one, *Nemini dixeritis*, by leap. The incipit of *Alma uirgo* contributes to this tight pattern of concordance in melodic gesture.

In contrast, the one antiphon assigned to the *differentia* given as Example 4.22a, that accorded to *Alma uirgo* in Pa 1085, offers a different melodic shape. *Inclinans se Ihesus* begins on E, rises first to G and then to A, each time falling back to E; and its melodic vocabulary is much less florid than the antiphons given with the previous *differentia*. In short, the assignment of antiphons to these two *differentiae* was based on the melodic character of the antiphon's incipit. *Alma uirgo*, in Adémar's view, simply fitted better with the group assigned to the *differentia* given as Example 4.22b, while Adémar and his colleague assigned an antiphon with a much different incipit to the *differentia* originally given with *Alma uirgo* in Pa 1085 (Example 4.22a).

Such discrepancies in the assignment of antiphons to *differentiae* are far from unusual. Tonaries often disagree in their categorization of antiphons in this regard.[51] The variability of the practice indicates to what degree the performance of plainsong encompassed a living tradition, with singers and theorists applying the system of modes and *differentiae* to the repertory according to their musical taste, knowledge and perception. Adémar and the principal scribe of Pa 909 simply disagreed with the assessment of the scribe of Pa 1085 regarding the appropriate *differentia* to be sung with *Alma uirgo*. Similarly, the tonary of Pa 1121, also with musical notation in Adémar's hand, does not include the *differentia* given in Example 4.22b above, and gives the same example, *Inclinans se Ihesus* for the other *differentia* (Example 4.22a) as the tonary in Pa 909 does.[52] These three sources, then, Pa 1085 and the tonaries of Pa 1121 and 909, illustrate the flexibility with which the system could be applied to the practical tradition, even within the same house.

EDITING THE DIVINE OFFICE: PA 1978

The editorial revisions Adémar undertook when he produced the version of the apostolic Office for Martial in Pa 1978 follow a very different path. Again, there are the usual minor melodic variants, as in the other texted pieces he copied. The most profound difference, however, lies in the modifications he effected in the literary text, always with the aim of

[51] On *differentiae* in general, see Omlin, *Die Sankt-Gallischen Tonarbuchstaben*, pp. 156–74; and Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Psalmdifferenzen*. On the way tonaries classify antiphons, see Omlin, *Die Sankt-Gallischen Tonarbuchstaben*; Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, pp. 222–45; Merkley, "Tonaries and Melodic Families"; *idem*, *Modal Assignment*, pp. 191–397; Davis, *The Gottschalk Antiphonary*, pp. 67–80; and Falconer, "The Modes before the Modes."

[52] Pa 1121 fol. 202r; Russell, "The Southern French Tonary," p. 222.

strengthening the apostolic rhetoric. I discuss, in Chapter 3 above, the ways in which he altered the received episcopal versions of the chants in Martial's Office to create the original apostolic liturgy and advocate the saint's apostolic status. His revisions in Pa 1978 continue the trend and move to a bolder plane, as the following example shows.

Pa 1253 Venerandam **presentis diei** sollempnitatem patroni nostri domni Marcialis deuotissime celebremus.

Pa 909 Venerandam **discipuli domini** sollempnitatem patroni nostri domni Marcialis deuotissime celebremus.

Pa 1978 Venerandam **egregii apostoli** sollempnitatem patroni nostri domni Marcialis deuotissime celebremus.

(Let us most devoutly celebrate the praiseworthy solemnity **of the present day of** (*Pa 1253*)**, of the disciple of the Lord** (*Pa 909*)**, of the famous apostle** (*Pa 1978*), our patron and lord Martial.)

Thus opens *Venerandam*, the first responsory of Matins.[53] The episcopal version in Pa 1253 gives the pedestrian phrase "of the present day," which Adémar has vivified by reinforcing the reference to Martial, now not only "our patron and lord," but also the "disciple of the Lord." When Adémar revisited the piece in Pa 1978, two issues may have motivated his further alteration. First, the expression "famous apostle" reinforces Martial's status, but, second, he may have been equally concerned with the awkward repetition "domini . . . domni," the former referring to Jesus, the latter to Martial. (We pass over another repetition of a form of *dominus* in the subsequent clause "ut ipse pro nobis intercedat ad dominum" ["so that he could intercede for us with the Lord"].) In any case, he opted for the less subtle but more demonstrative "egregii apostoli."

No such stylistic ambiguity affects the other change Adémar made to this responsory. He replaced the phrase "aquitanico populo" ("Aquitanian people") common to the episcopal and first apostolic version with "galliarum populis" ("the peoples of the Gauls") in the clause:

Pa 1253, 909 **aquitanico populo** ipsum dedit primum pastorem atque doctorem

Pa 1978 qui **galliarum populis** ipsum dedit primum pastorem atque doctorem

(who first gave himself **to the people of Aquitaine** [*Pa 1253, 909*], **to the peoples of the Gauls** [*Pa 1978*], as pastor and doctor).

[53] Pa 1253 fols. 15v-16r, Pa 909 fol. 63v, Pa 1978 fol. 103r; Edition II.2.1.H.

This phrase echoes the other geographical references Adémar modifies in several pieces, widening Martial's sphere of evangelization from Limoges to Aquitaine and finally all of Gaul.[54] The phrase complements the other change Adémar made to the responsory ("egregii apostoli") to confirm Martial's apostolicity.

Another theme that Adémar explores in advocating Martial's apostolic status is his relationship with Saint Peter, and that finds expression in a revision Adémar made to the responsory *Instante uero*, first in the second nocturn of the apostolic Matins.[55] In Pa 1978, he adds the phrase "duo apostoli" ("two apostles") to the sentence "uenerunt Romam **duo apostoli** princeps apostolorum Petrus et condiscipulus eius Marcialis" ("the **two apostles** came to Rome, Peter the prince of the apostles and Martial his fellow disciple"). The addition reinforces the equality of status that Peter and Martial share. That equality of status is not altogether clear from the qualifiers "prince of apostles" and "his fellow disciple," which one could easily construe as suggesting that Martial was not an apostle.

The textual addition required, naturally, a musical supplement, within which Adémar took the opportunity to provide some tonal variety. *Instante uero* belongs to mode 2, and, prior to the passage that Adémar inserted, the melody had securely established both tonality, through strong cadences on the final, D, and its plagal orientation through the deliberate exploitation of the entire range characteristic of mode 2. The setting of "uenerunt Romam," preceded by a cadence on D (not shown in the example), describes an arch from F up to A and back to F. (See Example 4.24.) Adémar amplifies the musical phrase by extending the melodic motion down to C, on the third and fourth syllables of "apostoli," before returning to F to create a smooth connection to the rest of the phrase. This gesture anticipates the subsequent setting of "apostolorum" by borrowing some of its melodic elements (marked **m** and **n** in Example 4.24). It also employs the same register as the following phrase, beginning "princeps," punctuated by the cadences on D that conclude the settings of the proper names "Petrus" and "Marcialis" (**o** in Example 4.24). These melodic nuances serve to move the word "apostoli" further into the foreground and thereby emphasize the textual point made by the insertion, namely, the equal status of Peter and Martial.

In the final example to be considered, Adémar sacrifices a literary opposition in order to reemphasize Martial's apostolic status. He rewrites

[54] See Chapter 3 above and Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 396–97.
[55] Pa 1253 fol. 17r-v, Pa 909 fol. 65v, Pa 1978 fol. 103v; Edition II.2.2.H.

Example 4.24. Responsory *Instante uero* Pa 909 fol. 63v, Pa 1978 fol. 103v

Pa 909 ue- ne- - - - - - runt Ro- mam

Pa 1978 ue- ne- - - - - - runt Ro- mam du- - o a-

Pa 909 prin- ceps a- - -

Pa 1978 po- - - sto- li_____ prin- ceps a- - -

Pa 909, 1978 po- sto- lo- - rum__ Pe- - - - - - - trus

Pa 909, 1978 et___ con- di- sci- - - pu- lus e- - - ius

Pa 909, 1978 Mar- - - - - - - - ci- a- lis

the final phrase of the responsory *Percepit itaque*, third in the first nocturn of apostolic Matins, as follows.[56]

Pa 1253, 909 et recedentibus genitoribus remansit idem Marcialis corpore **quidem iuuenis sed senili corde Christum secuturus**.

Pa 1978 et recedentibus genitoribus remansit idem Marcialis corpore **corde uirgo et futurus magnus Christi apostolus**.

(And, while his parents were retiring, this same Martial remained, **young indeed in body but aged in his heart, about to follow Christ** [*Pa 1253, 909*], **a virgin in body and heart and about to become the great apostle of Christ** [*Pa 1978*].)

[56] Pa 1253 fol. 16r-v, Pa 909 fol. 64r-v, Pa 1978 fol. 103r-v; Edition II.2.1.J.

The subtlety of the original figure of speech, which underscores the fact that Martial is wise and mature beyond his years, is lost in favour of a bald assertion of Martial's apostolicity.

Taken as a group, the alterations that make up this second layer of revision in the apostolic Office for Martial reveal that Adémar was willing to sacrifice some sophistication of literary expression in order to advocate Martial's status as an apostle. I also detect a sense that, in the aftermath of his defeat in debate with Benedict of Chiusa and his exile, as it were, back to Angoulême and Saint Cybard, Adémar abandoned any semblance of caution and asserted Martial's apostolicity in the boldest terms possible: added repetitions of the word *apostolus*, and clear assertions that he was an evangelizer of all the peoples of Gaul and the equal of Saint Peter. He may have found encouragement for his boldness in the conviction that no one would ever read or sing his liturgy for Martial.

*

These last two classes of editorial activity, the alteration of the *differentia* assigned to *Alma uirgo* in Pa 909, and the modifications to the texts of responsories in the Office for Martial in Pa 1978, reveal that he did not hesitate to intervene either to bring musical practice into line with his own perceptions of its needs or to strengthen his assertions of Martial's apostolic status. Although these interventions find echoes in his revision of the incipit of the sequentia *Laudiflua* and his suppression of the final two strophes of the sequentia *Fulgens praeclara*, they stand out within the generally conservative nature of Adémar's scribal practice. As an editor of music, Adémar more often preserved than modified, and when he modified, he more often treated details. Only in the area of liquescence did he undertake to impose his editorial judgement over the repertory as a whole. Even here, he tended to bring the musical texts he copied closer to the general application of liquescence in Aquitanian musical practice, as opposed to the idiosyncratic practice of the scribe of Pa 1120. Adémar, therefore, occasionally adopted a more aggressive editorial posture, but he generally exerted a light touch.

CHAPTER 5

Composer

The professional musicians of the central Middle Ages who were charged by their churches with the celebration of the liturgy shaped the music for it according to institutional needs, available performing resources and their own tastes.[1] Differing combinations of these factors generated the need for new music, which allowed these musicians the opportunity to exercise their creative abilities. Such opportunities carried great significance in a culture that valued, above all, tradition and continuity, and suspected innovation.[2] In this regard, the canon of the Council held at Meaux in 845 is revealing. It condemns the singing of Gloria tropes and texted sequences following the Alleluia, calling them novelties ("novitatibus").[3] Even if this text is not authentic (and the evidence is inconclusive either way), it occurs in an early tenth-century manuscript, and so, at the very least, reflects the thinking of ecclesiastical officials around the year 900.[4]

[1] On the role of musicians in the administration of the liturgy, see Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor."

[2] On liturgical change, see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 3–17; and "Mary's Nativity." For an exemplary investigation of liturgical tradition and innovation at the abbey of Saint Denis, an ecclesiastical institution of central importance, see Robertson, *The Service-Books*.

[3] A single manuscript among the sources for this Council contains the canon. Text: Hartmann, ed., *MGH*, *Leges* 4, *Concilia* 3:129. Facsimile: Silagi, ed., *Liturgische Tropen*, facing p. III. The preamble reads, "Propter inprobitatem quorumdam omnino dampnabilem, qui novitatibus delectati puritatem antiquitatis suis adinventionibus interpolare non metuunt" ("Because of the utterly damnable improbity of certain persons who, delighted by novelties, do not fear to corrupt the purity of antiquity with their own inventions").

[4] The arguments Silagi makes in favour of authenticity are unconvincing ("Vorwort," pp. VII–VIII, especially p. VIII n. 3). For example, the canon is misnumbered 78, whereas there is an authentic no. 78 (ed. Hartmann, p. 125), and the following canon, although authentic, is misidentified as originating at a Council at Toul ("Tullensi"), whereas it forms part of the Council at Savonnières of 859 (canon no. 12, ed. Hartmann, p. 461); see also *ibid.*, pp. 69, 456; Haug, "Ein neues Textdokument"; Falconer, *Some Early Tropes*, pp. 130–31; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, p. 39; Planchart, "Old Wine in New Bottles," pp. 44–45; and Arlt, "Liturgischer Gesang," p. 149.

Yet the occasion arose for these professional singers to produce new compositions, whether from their own desire to express themselves, or from institutional policy. During the ninth and tenth centuries, following the adoption of Roman chant in the Frankish kingdom, the principal focus of compositional activity seems to have been the new genres of tropes and sequences, as the canon of Meaux mentioned above suggests.[5] Arguably the most important composer in the period immediately before the turn of the millennium is Notker Balbulus (†912), of the abbey of Saint Gall, best known for his sequence composition.[6] By the tenth century, however, we have evidence of the new composition of Office chants by the music theorist Hucbald of Saint Amand (†930) and Bishop Stephen of Liège (†920), to whom are attributed an Office for the Feast of Saint Peter and one for the Trinity, respectively.[7] In all likelihood, these represent only a sample of the original compositions, in both new and established genres, that were created in the tenth, and possibly the ninth centuries. The surviving manuscript evidence simply does not permit us to determine the origins of compositions with greater precision. More important, however, is the level of creative activity these Offices attest in this period.

Certainly one factor in the creation of new liturgical music was institutional policy. The central repertory of plainsong adopted in the eighth century under Pippin and Charlemagne could not provide proper chants for all local saints. One institutional solution was the widespread use of common chants particular to the rank of the saint, the common of saints.[8] This body of music constituted a flexible corpus of chants that could be adapted to most needs. Musicians also borrowed the proper music from the liturgy for one saint to adopt it for that of another. For example, when, in the early eleventh century, the monks at Saint Martial devised an

[5] Rankin, "Carolingian Music," pp. 303–13.

[6] On Notker's literary texts, and for an edition of his *Liber ymnorum*, see Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*. On his musical compositions, see Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens*, pp. 39–58; Van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence*, pp. 80–94; Stäblein, "Notkeriana"; Husmann, "Die Handschrift Rheinau 71"; Crocker, "Some Ninth-Century Sequences"; *idem*, *The Early Medieval Sequence*; Haug, *Gesungene und schriftlich dargestellte Sequenz*; Rankin, "The Earliest Sources"; *eadem*, "Notker und Tuotilo," pp. 28–30; and *eadem*, "The Song School of St Gall," pp. 184–88. On his contemporary Tuotilo, see Rankin, "Notker und Tuotilo," pp. 21–27; *eadem*, "The Song School of St Gall," pp. 188–93; and Arlt, "Komponieren im Galluskloster um 900."

[7] On Hucbald, see Smits van Waesberghe, "Neue Kompositionen," pp. 292–94; Weakland, "The Compositions of Hucbald"; and Chartier, *L'œuvre musicale*, pp. 19–42, 344–99. On Stephen of Liège, see Auda, *L'école musicale liégeoise*; Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 115–76; and Björkvall and Haug, "Text und Musik."

[8] Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 153–56, 237–38.

Office for Mary Magdalene, they borrowed chants from the Common of Virgins and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.[9] Some of these newly composed or compiled liturgies appear in separate libelli, indicating that they constitute expansions of the liturgy for the particular institution.[10] As we shall see, the Offices Adémar created for Saints Martial, Valérie and Austriclinian are all preserved in a manuscript context that is tantamount to a libellus; that is, these Offices do not occur in a cycle for the liturgical year, but form special additions to a larger manuscript.[11]

Most commonly, musicians borrowed pieces for a new liturgy from that of a saint of the same rank. When the monks at Saint Martial first felt the need for a more elaborate liturgy in honour of their patron saint, they used tropes also assigned to the Feast of Saint Martin, who shared the rank of confessor-bishop with Martial.[12] The earliest troped Mass for Martial, in Pa 1240, consists almost entirely of shared items. In another section of the manuscript, tropes written at a later date specifically for Martial were added.[13] Not content with chants of a shared allegiance for their patron saint, and perhaps under pressure from the abbey's administrative hierarchy to create a more distinctive liturgy for Martial, the monastic musicians of the abbey supplemented the existing tropes with original compositions. This trend continued into the early eleventh century, with the compilation of Pa 1120, 1121 and the first layer of 909, all of which employ tropes originally composed for Martin in the Mass for Martial, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The presence of the shared tropes in the Mass liturgy for Martial clearly constituted a source of irritation for Adémar when he came to compile his apostolic liturgy. He therefore suppressed all those tropes that originated as items in the Mass for Saint Martin, and with them any connection between Martial, the apostle and Martin, with whom Martial no longer shared the rank of confessor-bishop.[14] He did retain those tropes originally composed for Martial, adapted to reflect his new status as an apostle, to which he then added some original compositions as needed. This procedure illustrates the degree to which the creators of new liturgies,

[9] Pa 1085 fol. 78v; possibly the earliest surviving Office for Mary Magdalene. See Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 84–85; and Chapter 3 above.

[10] In Aquitanian manuscripts, two such libelli survive, one preserving the liturgy for the Feast of Saint Foy (Pa 1240 fols. 185r-188v; see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires et séquentiaires," p. 166; and Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," p. 74 n. 17), and the other for the feast of Saint Gerard of Aurillac (Pa 2826 fols. 2r-3v; see Planchart, "Fragments, Palimpsests, and Marginalia," pp. 297–305).

[11] Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie," p. 80; Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 100–4; and *idem*, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 246–48.

[12] See Chapter 3 above. [13] See Chapter 1 above. [14] See Chapter 3 above.

like the apostolic Mass for Saint Martial, might combine newly composed material with existing items, balancing continuity with innovation. Through this strategy, Adémar was able to pursue his institutional goals while avoiding, at least to some degree, the accusations of *nouitates* and *adinuentiones* enunciated in the canon (authentic or otherwise) from the Council of Meaux.

IDENTIFYING ADÉMAR'S ORIGINAL COMPOSITIONS

No documentary evidence survives that definitively states that Adémar was a composer or that he composed particular musical items or liturgies. Several pieces of circumstantial evidence, however, make it extremely unlikely that anyone else could have composed these chants. First, several texts attest Adémar's close personal involvement with the apostolic cult: his two narratives of the events of 3 August 1029, when the ill-fated apostolic liturgy was premièred (his *Epistola de apostolatu sancti Marcialis*, and the fictitious proceedings of a Council at Limoges in 1031), his sermons on the Feast of Saint Martial and the dedication of the abbatial basilica, and the series of forgeries he perpetrated at Saint Cybard in Angoulême between 1029 and 1033. The existence of these texts make it plausible that he composed the unique items in the liturgy.[15]

Second, both literary and musical texts for the entire apostolic liturgy, troped Mass and Office including untroped Mass, as well as the related troped Masses for Saints Austriclinian and Justinian, and Offices for Saints Valérie and Austriclinian, are all inscribed in Pa 909 in Adémar's autograph hand.[16] Moreover, his demonstrable expertise in the latest developments in musical notation (consistent use of the *custos* at line end, and accurate vertical orientation of notes to indicate relative pitch relationships) indicates that he had the professional musical training to undertake such a task as the production of a new liturgy.[17] That training took place, of course, at Saint Martial under the tutelage of his paternal uncle, Roger, eventual cantor of the abbey.

Third, several pieces in Adémar's hand that are either unica or appear in no earlier source than Pa 909 exhibit erasures in the musical text that

[15] Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*; and [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*. See Saltet, "Une discussion," "Une prétendue lettre," "Les faux," and "Un cas"; Callahan, "The Sermons," and "Adémar de Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace Council"; and Landes, "A Libellus," and *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 228–81.

[16] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," especially pp. 246–49.

[17] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 62–68; and "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 239–40.

can only be interpreted as compositional revisions. Most noteworthy are the nearly complete rewritings of the responsorial chants in the apostolic untroped Mass: the Gradual *Principes populorum* ℣ *Elegit dominus* and the *Alleluia* ℣ *Beati oculi*. The latter also occurs in the libellus of Alleluias over an erasure; here too, Adémar entered the original melody (that which is erased in the untroped Mass), which he then erased and replaced with the melody he had rewritten in the untroped Mass.[18] He also made more modest revisions among the apostolic Proper tropes.[19] Adémar was substantively reconsidering the melodic shapes of all these pieces as he was creating the fair copy in Pa 909.

Fourth and last, virtually all of the texts of the unica in the Offices for Saints Valérie and Austriclinian are taken from Adémar's sermons, found in autograph in Pa 2469.[20] As John A. Emerson points out, these constitute verbatim quotations from the sermons, rather than adaptations and paraphrases. Because Pa 2469 also contains the forged proceedings of the Council of Limoges held in 1031, its date must fall between that Council and Adémar's departure on pilgrimage, probably in 1033.[21] Therefore, this manuscript was not yet extant when the Offices for Saints Valérie and Austriclinian were produced, and so, it is difficult to say how widely these sermons may have been disseminated. The only person we can be assured had access to them before the production of Pa 2469 would be the author himself, Adémar, who therefore used his own texts for his own new musical compositions.

Taken together, these four circumstantial points indicate one prime candidate for the authorship of the apostolic and attendant liturgies, Adémar himself. It is certainly conceivable that another monk at Saint Martial, unnamed in the sources, shared his enthusiasm for the saint's cult and his professional expertise in matters liturgical and musical, including knowledge of notation. Adémar might even have been willing to make the texts of his sermons available to his co-conspirator, who might have used them, although he could have just as easily preferred new texts of his own creation. But why, if the apostolic liturgy were composed by another, would Adémar have undertaken to revise the melodies of several items? Moreover, the method of production used in the apostolic portion of

[18] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," p. 107.
[19] Grier "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 47–50.
[20] Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," pp. 36–46. See also Delisle, "Notice," pp. 276–96; and Callahan, "The Sermons."
[21] See Delisle, "Notice," pp. 278 and 356.

Pa 909, wherein Adémar inscribed the verbal text, some capitals and the lesser initials, rubrics and musical notation, suggests that he worked in isolation, and so discourages me from proposing a collaborator.[22]

The weight of this evidence, circumstantial though it may be, makes the attribution of these liturgies to Adémar all but certain. With that conclusion in mind, it is relatively simple to identify those compositions that Adémar contributed to the various liturgies, particularly that for Saint Martial. Several sources that immediately predate Adémar's apostolic liturgy survive for the episcopal form of the liturgy as practised at Saint Martial: for the Divine Office, Pa 1085, an abbreviated antiphoner, and Pa 1253, a breviary; and, for the Mass, the troper-prosers Pa 1120 and 1121.[23] Adémar's uncle, the cantor Roger de Chabannes, probably supervised the production of Pa 1085 and 1120, while Adémar himself contributed to the creation of Pa 1121.[24] All four date from the early eleventh century, Pa 1085, 1253 and 1120 probably between 1010 and 1025, Pa 1121 likely from 1027–28.

I take as his original compositions all pieces that occur in Adémar's autograph in Pa 909 but do not occur in the episcopal liturgy for Martial in the manuscripts named above. Appendix B gives the list of pieces I attribute to Adémar, beginning with those for which he wrote text and music, arranged by liturgical assignment and genre, followed by those for which he set an existing melody with a new text, and ending with those sequentiae whose melodies he composed. No earlier Office for either Austriclinian or Cybard exists against which Adémar's Offices in Pa 909 and 1978 can be measured to determine how many of the items were newly composed by him. An earlier Office for Saint Valérie does appear in Pa 1085, as discussed in Chapter 3 above. Adémar incorporated four pieces from it apparently composed for Valérie; most of the rest of the items in Pa 1085 were borrowed from other Offices for the Virgin Mary, the Common of a Virgin or other female saints. The majority of the pieces in all three Offices, for Saints Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, I attribute to Adémar.[25] This constitutes a significant body of music, on which I comment below. It would seem that Adémar wished to create

[22] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 248–49.

[23] Pa 1085 fols. 76v-77r (principal feast), 77v-78r (Octave) and 91v (Translation); on this codex in general, see Grier, "The Divine Office." Pa 1253 fols. 15r-21v; see Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, 3: no. 525 pp. 76–77.

[24] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 134–56.

[25] Also the finding of Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," p. 43, for the Offices of Valérie and Austriclinian.

genuinely independent Offices for the three saints, virtually free of associations with other saints or groups of saints.

I also attribute ten sequentiae to Adémar, which constitute roughly 15 per cent of the repertory transmitted in the sequentiaries he contributed to Pa 1121 and 909. His compositions in this genre become evidence for his activities as a singer at the abbeys of Saint Cybard and Saint Martial. Again, the attribution depends on earlier extant Aquitanian repertories. These are the sequentiaries preserved in Pa 1084 and 1118, both troper-prosers produced in southern Aquitaine around AD 1000.[26] Sequentiae that appear in Adémar's autograph, either in Pa 1121 or 909 or in both, but not in the earlier sequentiaries are considered to be his original compositions.

Two of the ten sequentiae, *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa*, are assigned to the Feast of Saint Martial and occur with full texts as prosae in Pa 909, and so I attribute both text and music to Adémar. Two other sequentiae are found only in the appendix to the sequentiary in Pa 1121 and nowhere else either as sequentiae or prosae. This appendix opens with the rubric "ALIAE SEQVENTIAE QVAE NON SVNT VALDE IN VSV" ("other sequentiae that are not much in use"), and in fact most of the sequentiae therein enjoyed only limited circulation. The first original sequentia of Adémar's in the appendix bears the rubric "LETATVS SVM," the Alleluia verse for the second Sunday of Advent, identifying its liturgical assignment and melodic incipit. The second occurs on the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist with the as yet unidentified rubric "HODIERNA."[27] These might be Adémar's earliest preserved essays in musical composition.

The remaining six melodies appear in both Pa 1121 and 909. The first, *Alme Christe*, belongs to the fourth Sunday of Advent, and nowhere occurs with a full text as a prosa. Richard L. Crocker did identify a prosa in Pa 1121 (fol. 201r), cued by incipit only, with musical notation by Adémar, that uses the same melodic incipit, but whose text begins "Alme rex Christe."[28] In the absence of a full text, I attribute the melody only to Adémar. The other five sequentiae may provide parallel examples. They all occur grouped together, although not consecutively, in Pa 1121 (fols. 68r-69r) and Pa 909 (fols. 123r-124v), where they are all designated as either sequences of variable assignment or dominical sequences. They also

[26] Pa 1084 fols. 197v-219v, Pa 1118 fols. 132r-143v. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:56–126, with inventories of the two sequentiaries, pp. 84–94 (Pa 1084) and 119–26 (Pa 1118).
[27] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:207–8.
[28] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:198, 200; 2:16.

appear quite close together in one of the fragmentary prosers of Pa 1121 (fols. 197r-200v), again with musical notation by Adémar, but with text inscribed by another.

Margot Fassler suggests that one of these five, *Alte uox canat*, may have been composed by Adémar.[29] She notes the parallels between the text of the prosa and Adémar's narrative of the vision of the cross that appeared to him in 1010 when he was studying at Saint Martial under his uncle Roger.[30] As I indicate above, however, the texts of this prosa and of the other five prosae under discussion here, including *Alme [rex] Christe*, are not in Adémar's hand. It is possible that Adémar, as a novice in musical composition (a stage I suspect Pa 1121 represents), could have asked the principal scribe of the proser to include some of his early pieces, *Alte uox canat* among them. Therefore, I equivocate as to Adémar's authorship of the texts. Their melodies, however, I do include among Adémar's original pieces, chiefly because of their appearance in his autograph.

Finally, the sequentiary of Pa 1121 may provide evidence of two lost compositions of Adémar's. Both are sequences for the feast of Saint Martial, both are indicated by a rubric in Pa 1121, both may have formed part of the fragmentary proser in Pa 1121 that bears Adémar's music hand (fols. 196–201), but neither Dreves nor Crocker found a prosa with either incipit.[31] The first lost piece is a prosa with the incipit *Marcialis clara*. This rubric appears in Pa 1121 fol. 65r with a sequentia found in at least one earlier codex, Pa 1084, and so I do not attribute the melody to Adémar.[32] The melody appears with at least three other texts, however, *Alle uox promat*, for Saint Yrieix, *Alle boans luia*, for Saint Valérie, the first convert of Martial, and *Alma cohors*, for Martial himself.[33] Adémar also assigns the sequentia to Saint Austriclinian, Martial's companion, in Pa 909 (fols. 121v-122r), with the rubric *Os iusti*, indicating the Alleluia melody on whose incipit the sequence is based.[34] Clearly, the sequence is closely, though not exclusively, associated with the cult of Martial, and so it is possible that Adémar composed a prosa text for Martial's feast on this melody with the incipit *Marcialis clara*.

[29] Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 47–56.

[30] Text of the prosa: *AH* 7: no. 94 p. 107; Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 53–54. Adémar's narrative: *Chronicon* 3.46, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, pp. 165–66 (quoted in Itier, *Chronique*, 53, ed. Lemaître, p. 14).

[31] Dreves, ed., *AH* 7; Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:7–79.

[32] Edition IXA.22.A.

[33] Editions of the texts: *AH* 7, nos. 126, 204 and 218, pp. 139–40, 224–26 and 238, respectively. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:12–14.

[34] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:13.

At the end of the sequentiary, after the last piece, Adémar entered the following rubric: *Sancte confessor Christo cantica* (fol. 72v). An *Alleluia* ℣ *Sancte confessor* occurs uniquely in Pa 1121 fol. 217r (with music in Adémar's hand), where it is assigned to Martial.[35] The melody, of course, was sung widely in medieval Europe, principally with the verse *Iustus ut palma*, but no other source combines this melody with the verse *Sancte confessor*. Two sequence melodies use the opening of this Alleluia as their first phrase: *Organicis*, for Saint John the Evangelist, and the melody shared by *Da camena* and *Praefulgida*, for Saint John the Baptist.[36] In the latter case, the Alleluia melody is identified by the verse *Iustus ut palma*. Adémar may have composed a new sequentia melody with the opening of this Alleluia, which he intended to write next in the sequentiary, and then added a prosa text with the incipit *Christo cantica*; or he may have simply added a new text to one of the existing sequentiae that uses this Alleluia incipit. In any case, the alleluiatic designation would make it likely that, should such a piece have ever existed, it would have been assigned to the feast of Saint Martial.

THE SCOPE OF ADÉMAR'S ORIGINAL COMPOSITIONS

Within the liturgy for Saint Martial, Adémar contributed considerably more original compositions to the Mass than to the Office. He created tropes and host chants for the three Proper items that are conventionally troped, Introit, Offertory and Communion; introductory tropes for two sequentiae; and a Proper text for the *Regnum tuum* prosula that forms part of a trope for the Gloria, in the Ordinary of the Mass. The sequentia *Arce polorum*, for which he wrote an introductory trope, and which is cited by cue in the troped Mass, is an original composition, as is its texted form; so too are the melody and text of the sequence *Apostolorum gloriosa*, which also exists as sequentia and prosa. To these, Adémar added two newly composed responsorial chants in the untroped version of the Mass: the Gradual *Principes populorum* ℣ *Elegit dominus* and the *Alleluia* ℣ *Beati oculi*, mentioned above because he significantly revised their melodies.

Finally, he produced two further texts for existing melodies: a verse for the Introit, and a Tract, *Marcialem apostolum*, set to a common mode 2 Tract melody, one of whose most popular texts was *Deus deus meus*.[37] This

[35] Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 38, pp. 86–87.
[36] *Organicis*, Edition IXA.7.A; *Da camena* and *Praefulgida*, IXA.15.A.
[37] I am indebted to Illo Humphrey for this identification.

last is more than a little curious. Its rubric in Pa 909 (fols. 71v-72r) is unequivocal: "In quadragesima." Yet none of the feasts for Martial celebrated in Adémar's day fall in Lent: principal feast 30 June, Octave 7 July, and Translation 10 October.[38] Perhaps Adémar was simply providing a complete collection of liturgical items for the new apostle so that a correct liturgy could be celebrated for him no matter the date of the feast.

In comparison with this full (and, in view of the Tract *Marcialem apostolum*, for which no obvious liturgical purpose exists, perhaps overfull) selection of newly composed chants for the Mass, the group of new compositions for the Office seems quite jejune: one Matins responsory; a new introduction for another; a *Benedicamus* substitute and a short responsory for Lauds; two antiphons for miscellaneous use; and the most substantial items, two chants for the procession on Mons Gaudium (Montjovis). Two explanations offer themselves for this state of affairs: the respective locations for the celebration of the Mass and Office on 3 August 1029, when the apostolic liturgy was premièred, and the audience each celebration would attract. Adémar tells us, in his *Epistola de apostolatu*, that the Mass that day took place at the cathedral of Saint Stephen, whereas Second Vespers, and presumably the other Offices, were celebrated at the abbey of Saint Martial.[39] The former clearly was the more public ceremony, the latter the more private.

Moreover, Adémar makes it clear from the adaptations he imposed on the Office chants borrowed from the episcopal liturgy that he anticipated his primary audience there to be the urban clergy. They, after all, would constitute the only group in the audience for the Office to command sufficient Latin to comprehend the verbal texts of the chants and the changes Adémar had effected. More important, however, is the fact that among them were to be found the gravest sceptics about the apostolic cult, particularly the older monks at Saint Martial, who had venerated the saint as a confessor-bishop. Therefore, to appease and engage them, Adémar elected to preserve as much of the existing episcopal liturgy as possible, and revised or added pieces to it only where absolutely necessary to affirm Martial's apostolic status.

The city's cathedral, on the other hand, hosted the Mass for the day. Bishop Jordan of Limoges, in collaboration with Adémar, had arranged the première of the liturgy in carefully controlled circumstances. The

[38] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 104–7.

[39] Pa 5288 fols. 52rb and 53ra; printed Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, cols. 92D and 94B, respectively. See Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," p. 389.

bishop had summoned a diocesan synod and announced that the apostolic cult would be inaugurated on its final day.[40] Therefore, at least in theory, every cleric in attendance would be directly under the control of the bishop. The date itself carried great significance as well: it fell not only on the Feast of the Invention of Saint Stephen, which was widely observed throughout Western Christendom, but also on the dedication of the cathedral.[41] All these factors combined to ensure that the Mass of the day would attract a large audience. And I would suggest that the new compositions Adémar created for the Mass were principally addressed to the laity among them.

OFFICES FOR SAINTS VALÉRIE, AUSTRICLINIAN AND CYBARD

The Offices of Saints Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard present quite a different picture. As noted above, all three contain a large quantity of apparently newly composed music. For example, the Valérie Office retains only four items from the earlier version of the Office preserved in Pa 1085, all in conspicuous places: the Magnificat antiphons for both First and Second Vespers, the Benedictus antiphon in Lauds, and the final responsory in the second nocturn of Matins. For three antiphons, two from Matins and one in Lauds, Adémar has imposed newly composed texts, drawn from his sermons as Emerson discovered, on pre-existing melodies.[42] All the rest of the pieces appear to be new creations of Adémar's, including, among the chants for Matins, eleven out of twelve responsories and eleven antiphons of thirteen.[43] The other two Offices, for Austriclinian and Cybard, exhibit similar proportions of borrowed chants, new texts set to old melodies, and entirely new confections (see Table 5.1).[44] Items in the first section of Table 5.1 (Borrowed melodies with new texts) of course appear in Appendix B under the heading "Text only." A comparison of Table 5.1 with sections of Appendix B under the

[40] Pa 2469 fols. 103v-104r; [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, cols. 1375A-76D. For commentary, see Saltet, "Une discussion," pp. 170–82; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 226–27; and Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 97–99.

[41] Pa 2469 fol. 104r; [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, col. 1375C. See also, Arbellot, "Cathédrale de Limoges," pp. 171–72; Saltet, "Une discussion," pp. 172–73; Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 226; and Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 97–99.

[42] For this information, and in other places where I have identified pre-existing melodies with new texts, I have used Bryden and Hughes, compilers, *An Index*.

[43] This is also the conclusion of Emerson, "Two Newly Identified Offices," p. 43, for the melodies in the Offices of Valérie and Austriclinian.

[44] The source Offices in Table 5.1 are identified from Pa 1085.

Table 5.1. *Items borrowed from other Offices for the Offices of Saints Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard*

BORROWED MELODIES WITH NEW TEXTS

Incipit	Genre	Melody	CAO	Source Office	Edition
Saint Valérie					
Hanc discipulus	Antiphon	Pretiosa sunt	3:4372	Maurice	VI.2.1.C
Cum angelis	Antiphon	Gloriosus apparuisti	3:2963	Michael	VI.2.2.F
					VI.7.A
Angeli psallebant	Antiphon	Arguebat Herodem	3:1482	John the Baptist	VI.3.E
Saint Austriclinian					
Beatus igitur	Antiphon	Deus meus es tu	3:2175	Dom. 5 Lent	VII.1.1.A
O admirandam	Antiphon	Mittite in dexteram	3:3800	feria 4 Easter	VII.1.2.E
Sanctitate	Antiphon	Magnificatus est rex	3:3670	Vigil of Nativity	VII.1.2.F
Pater insignis	Antiphon	Caeleste beneficium	3:1832	Nativity of the Virgin	VII.2.A
Saint Cybard					
Sacro functus	Antiphon	Haec est uera	3:3003	John and Paul	VIII.2.C
Virtus diuina	Antiphon	Erat quidam regulus	3:2661	dominical	VIII.2.D
Quidam in extremitate	Antiphon	Cum respexisset	3:2030	Peter	VIII.2.E
Virtus diuina	Responsory	Scindite corda uestra	4:7626	Dom. 1 Lent	VIII.3.B

TEXT AND MELODY BORROWED

Incipit	Genre	CAO	Source Office	Edition
Saint Valérie				
Benedico te	Antiphon	3:1702	Agatha	VI.3.D
Saint Austriclinian				
Confessorum regem	Invitatory	3:1056	Benedict	VII.1.A
Insignis praeconii	Antiphon	3:3355	Denis	VII.4.A

headings "Office Propers: Saint Valérie, Saint Austriclinian, Saint Cybard," shows the relative amounts of new and reused material that Adémar incorporated into the Offices for these three saints.

One point of contact between the Office for Martial that Adémar inherited and that for Valérie composed by him exists in the question of modal ordering of the chants. Already in the tenth century, compilers and composers of new Offices began to order their constituent chants according to their modal disposition, beginning with mode 1 and continuing through mode 8.[45] A trace of this ordering occurs in Lauds for Martial, where the first four antiphons fall in modes 1 through 4, with the fifth in mode 6.[46] The antiphons of the first two nocturns in Matins for Saint Valérie reflect a similar ordering: those in the first nocturn employ modes 1 through 6, in order, while the second nocturn completes the cycle by beginning with two antiphons in mode 7, and continuing with antiphons in modes 8, 1, 3 and 4.[47] Neither Adémar nor the other compilers of Offices at Saint Martial adopted the system comprehensively, as it appears nowhere else in the Offices for Martial and Valérie, or anywhere in those for Austriclinian and Cybard.

A further comparison with three Offices of which no complete source earlier than Pa 1085 exists (and so these Offices might have been newly created at Saint Martial for inclusion in it) demonstrates the way in which compilers of liturgies in the generation or more before Adémar balanced new compositions with borrowed material.[48] The Offices for Saints Martial, Valérie and Mary Magdalene in this codex present a contrasting picture. As discussed in Chapter 3, those for Valérie and Mary Magdalene largely consist of chants borrowed from Offices for other women saints. A very different procedure emerges from a consideration of the Offices for Saint Martial in the same codex, as Table 5.2 shows.[49]

Only two antiphons are borrowed from other Offices, and another six use pre-existing melodies for new texts. Therefore, in contrast to the

[45] Hughes, "Modal Order"; and Möller, "Tonartlich geordnete Offizien."

[46] Edition II.3.A-E. In Pa 1085 fol. 78r, these antiphons occur in this order in Lauds for the Octave of Martial's Feast. See Chapter 3 above

[47] Edition VI.2.1.A-F, 2.2.A-F. The antiphons *Hanc discipulus* and *Cum angelis* (VI.2.1.C and 2.2.F, respectively) use pre-existing melodies for which Adémar composed new texts; see Tables 5.1 and 5.2 above. The position of at least *Hanc discipulus* in Adémar's Office was determined by its mode.

[48] Fragmentary Offices for Saints Martial (fols. 66r, 96r-97r) and Valérie (fol. 70r) occur in Pa 1240. See Emerson, "Neglected Aspects," pp. 207–8, 216; on the antiphoner in this codex in general, see *ibid.*, pp. 206–17.

[49] There are only two discrete Offices for Martial in Pa 1085, for the principal feast and its Octave; the latter is repeated for the Translation. The source Offices in Table 5.2 are identified from Pa 1085.

Table 5.2. *Items borrowed from other Offices for the Offices of Saint Martial in Pa 1085*

BORROWED MELODIES WITH NEW TEXTS				
Incipit	Genre	Melody	CAO	Source Office
Sanctus Marcialis ad praedicandum	Antiphon	Erat quidam regulus	3:2661	dominical
Vnus e comitibus	Antiphon	Conuertere domine	3:1921	Dead
Versis ad urbem	Antiphon	Benedictus dei	3:1714	Benedict
Qui misso bacterio	Antiphon	Quinque mihi	3:4542	Common of one confessor
Hoc audiens	Antiphon	Et facta est comes	3:2701	Denis
Sanctus Marcialis apostolus	Antiphon	Tulerunt lapides	3:5233	Passion Sunday

TEXT AND MELODY BORROWED			
Incipit	Genre	CAO	Source Office
Amauit eum	Versicle	4:7941	Common of one confessor
Iustus ut palma	Versicle	4:8117	Common of one confessor
Ad sepulchrum	Antiphon	3:1252	Germain
Iurauit dominus	Antiphon	3:3522	Common of one confessor
Iustus germinauit	Versicle	4:8116	Benedict

Offices for Valérie and Mary Magdalene, the compilers of those for Martial, working in the generation before Adémar or even earlier, composed a significant amount of new material, which, of course, was then incorporated by Adémar into his apostolic version of the Office. For example, all twelve responsories for Matins of the principal feast appear to have been newly composed for the Office in Pa 1085. The difference in procedure between the compilation of the Offices for Martial, on the one hand, and for Valérie and Mary Magdalene, on the other, can be attributed to the relative importance of the saints' cults to the abbey. Martial, of course, held the position of patron saint, whereas Valérie was one of his companions and Mary Magdalene a relatively recent import from the east.[50]

The relative status of these Offices in Pa 1085 illuminates Adémar's procedure in creating Offices for Martial, Valérie and Austriclinian in Pa 909 and for Cybard in Pa 1978. He already possessed a patronal Office for Martial that contained a large amount of material peculiar to it. Apart from other considerations, such as his addressing this Office to the older generation of monks at the abbey, as discussed above, he did not feel the need to contribute many new items. Instead, he concentrated on adapting the episcopal texts for use in the apostolic liturgy. For Valérie, on the other hand, there existed only the Office in Pa 1085 that was largely borrowed. To bring her Office, as well as that for Austriclinian, into coordination with other aspects of the apostolic cult, therefore, he produced essentially new Offices for them. Much the same thinking went into his later confection of the Office for Cybard, presumably done back in Angoulême.

If we broaden the sample for comparison to newly composed Offices of the same approximate age created outside Aquitaine, much the same picture emerges. I consider three additional patronal Offices for which music is available, and one further Office to serve as a control. Two of the former date from about a century earlier than Adémar's apostolic campaign, and their composers have already been mentioned: Offices for Saint Peter and for Saint Stephen attributed to Hucbald and Stephen of Liège, respectively; to these I add the Office for Saint Emmeram composed by Arnold Vohburg in the 1030s, only a few years after Adémar created the Offices under consideration here. Finally, to ascertain whether this pattern of employing a large number of new compositions is particular

[50] On the cult of Valérie, see Chapter 3 above. On Mary Magdalene, see Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine*.

to patronal Offices, I include the Office for the Trinity also compiled by Stephen of Liège (see Table 5.3).[51]

Again, as in the case of the patronal Offices for Martial in Pa 1085 and Adémar's Offices for Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, virtually all the musical items in these four non-Aquitanian Offices are newly composed.[52] Therefore, Adémar's procedure in creating these new Offices is entirely typical for Office composition in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. What distinguishes his case from the others are the number of extant Offices he composed, their association with the apostolic cult of Martial, and their survival in autograph sources.[53]

THE TEXTS

For a large number of the pieces listed in Appendix B, Adémar's original compositions, I posit that he composed both text and music. Below I present detailed discussion of the interaction between verbal and musical texts. Here, I would like to summarize certain general characteristics of these texts. Adémar seems to have used two principal sources for his texts. Most of the pieces in the Offices for Saints Valérie and Austriclinian are derived from Adémar's own sermons, as mentioned above. This relationship suggests that the composition of the sermons must predate by several years their autograph source, Pa 2469. Adémar composed the Offices that employ these texts between 18 November 1028 and 3 August 1029, whereas

[51] On Hucbald and Stephen of Liège, see above n. 7. For the Offices by Stephen of Liège for Saint Stephen and the Trinity, see Auda, *L'école musicale liégeoise*, pp. 58–66 and 113–21, respectively; Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 214–18 and 221–24, prints the texts for these two Offices. For the Office by Hucbald for Saint Peter, see Weakland, "The Compositions of Hucbald," pp. 161–62; and Chartier, *L'œuvre musicale*, pp. 392–99. On Arnold of Vohburg and his Office for Saint Emmeram, see Hiley, ed., *Historia sancti Emmerammi*.

[52] Curiously, discussion of this issue is rare. Hiley, ed., *Historia sancti Emmerammi*, pp. xviii and xxv, mentions in passing that Arnold's Office for Saint Emmeram reflects a departure from previous traditions without discussing whether Arnold composed these melodies; see also Dobszay, "Zur Stilistik," p. 88, who questions Arnold's authorship; Hiley, "Das Wolfgang-Offizium," especially pp. 130 and 141, when discussing the role of Hermannus Contractus in the creation of the Office for Saint Wolfgang, remains cautious about attribution. Only Auda, *L'école musicale liégeoise*, pp. 151–63, states unequivocally that Stephen of Liège composed the melodies preserved with the Offices he wrote; see also *ibid.*, pp. 174–77, where Auda discusses to what extent Stephen's melodies are original or adaptations of existing chants. Hiley, "The *Historia* of St. Julian," presents a similar discussion. Möller, "Office Compositions," pp. 244–50, hints at the possibility of creative activity in some Office chants that originated at Saint Gall. Weakland, "The Compositions of Hucbald," and Chartier, *L'œuvre musicale*, pp. 36–39, pass over the issue without comment.

[53] It is possible that the earliest surviving source for Arnold's Office for Saint Emmeram is in the composer's autograph; see Hiley, ed., *Historia sancti Emmerammi*, p. xx and n. 11.

Table 5.3. *Items borrowed from other Offices for the Offices of Saints Stephen, Peter and Emmeram, and the Trinity*

BORROWED MELODIES WITH NEW TEXTS				
Incipit	Genre	Melody	CAO	Source Office
Saint Stephen				
Vidit igitur assistere	Antiphon	Beatus uir qui	3:1674	Common of one confessor
Beatus Gamaliel	Responsory	Erit mihi dominus	4:6608	Dom. 2 Lent
Isti etenim maximo	Antiphon	Tandem ad sponsi	3:5102	Lucy
In ieiuniis et orationibus	Antiphon	In diebus illis	3:3224	Ad mandatum
Saint Peter				
Cornelius centurio	Antiphon	Cum factus esset	3:2006	Andrew
Saint Emmeram				
Sanctus Emmerammus	Antiphon	Conuentione autem	3:1915	dominical
Beatus Emmerammus	Responsory	Emendemus	4:6653	Quinquagesima
Athletam autem	Responsory	Descendit de caelis	4:6411	Christmas
Confessio dominica	Antiphon	Erigitur itaque	3:2667	Holy Innocents
Trinity				
Benedicamus patri et filio	Responsory	Ecce dies veniunt	4:6583	Dom. 1 Advent

TEXT AND MELODY BORROWED			
Incipit	Genre	CAO	Source Office
Saint Emmeram			
Regem matyrum	Invitatory	3:1137	Common of one or many martyrs
Gloria et honore	Responsory	4:6776	Common of one martyr

Pa 2469, as I point out above, could not have been produced before the end of 1031.

Adémar's other principal source is, not surprisingly, the Bible. Many texts simply quote it directly, as in the verses he added to the responsories in Matins of the Office for Martial, and the Communion in the apostolic Mass.[54] In others, he paraphrases scriptural passages to create a new text with borrowed and adapted phrases. This technique also has ample precedents, in Offertory texts and some responsories for Matins, for example.[55] Adémar's newly composed Introit for the apostolic Mass, *Probauit eum*, is one such composition, and he uses another version of the same text as a verse for the responsory *Beatissimus apostolus* in Matins for Martial.[56] The Offertory from the apostolic Mass, *Diligo uirginitatem*, constitutes another instance. Parts of the refrain quote or paraphrase passages from Isaiah 56.6–7, as shown below.[57]

Offertory *Diligo uirginitatem*	Isaiah 56.6–7
Diligo uirginitatem et foedus meum seruantem. dabitur ei locus in meo sancto monte, et splendebit caelesti beatitudine.	6 . . . et **diligant** nomen eius, ut sint ei in servos; omnem custodientem sabbatum ne polluat illud, **et tenentem foedus meum**; 7 **Adducam eos in montem sanctum meum** . . . .

Adémar exercises somewhat more freedom here than in the Introit *Probauit eum*, but a monastic audience, familiar with scripture, would, in all likelihood, grasp the references to Isaiah.

Although many of the newly composed texts, particularly those for the Offices, employ relatively simple narrative language, in others, Adémar uses a richer vocabulary. For example, *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus ipsum*, a trope for the Introit of the apostolic Mass, employs significantly more effusive, even poetic, diction than one normally finds in tropes.[58] Other pieces share this form of expression, such as the procession on Montjovis, *Ave*

[54] Responsory verses are borrowed from Psalms, the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and 1 Samuel; see Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 390–91. Communion chant *Nolite gaudere*, Luke 10.20; verse *Ecce dedi uobis*, Luke 10.19; see Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel," p. 252.

[55] On Offertories, see Levy, "Toledo, Rome and the Legacy of Gaul"; on responsories, see Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 99–101.

[56] Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel," pp. 250–51; Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 115–16; and *idem*, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 393–94.

[57] Cf. Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel," p. 251, who cites parallels from Psalm 50.8, John 14.21, 1 John 2.5, and Psalm 14.1.

[58] Grier, "A New Voice," pp. 1032–33.

pastor optime, the two prosae, *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa*, and the devotional poem *Magna uirum*. I treat musical and textual issues in *Ave pastor optime* and *Arce polorum* below. Here, I present the text of *Apostolorum gloriosa* as an example of Adémar's literary style.

1. Apostolorum gloriosa tuba deo clangat alleluia.
2a. Nos quoque organa resonemus laeta uoce consona laude cum angelica dantes praeconia,
2b. Marcialis instant quia apostoli nunc sollempnia unde ouant infima simulque suprema.
3a. Tibi namque uerbigena sit laus honor perpes gloria,
3b. Cui placuit Marcialis clara uirginitate sua,
4a. Hebreus hebrea stirpe electa,
4b. Proditus ex tribu beniaminea.
5a. Cuius per sacra haec festa Te, Christe rex, laudant agmina laeta in hac sancta aula Quo te nouit gens aquitana,
5b. Cuius tu es salus uita Regnans sempiterna in gloria potentia cum summa Tu dignitas apostolica.
6a. Ipsa a te sacra et lucentia sunt lumina electa,
6b. Numerus quae signat bissena atque duo septuaginta,
7a. Quos inter Marcialis reluxit propria gratia in arua missus iudea
7b. Vt agnus pacem ferat lupos inter quique comprimat cuncta bellorum semina
8a. Et adnuntiet dei opera atque uerba
8b. Caelorum regna ac praedicet propinquantia.
9a. Per ipsa tempora In carne apparens in iudea rex praedicasti ipsa praesentia tua Magna pandens prodigia;
9b. Morte triumphata Clara uictoria iam completa laetificasti discipulorum tuorum corda Quae erant dolore plena.
10a. Tunc Marcialem prouexisti ad altiora,
10b. Dans posse remittendi retinendi peccata,
11a. Cui dedisti sancti spiritus dona in sufflatione tua,
11b. Quem baptizauerat olim Petrus propria iussione tua.
12a. Factus qui carnali affinis illi parentela legitima,
12b. In tua iugiter condiscipulus eius mansit clientela.
13a. Cuius prece placatus pia, Lux apostolorum pax uera, da nobis indulgentiam Relaxans nostra cuncta probra;
13b. Procul pellens semper aduersa, Concede temporum pacem laetam, praesta aeternam patriam Qua Marcialis tecum regnat,
14a. Quem Gallia summum poscat patrem uniuersa,

14b. Quae illius fructus manens extat perspicua,
15a. Quem scandens Christus astra sua benedixit ipsa dextera,
15b. Cuius principatus est nimis confortatus secla per cuncta,
16. Quapropter omnes una exclamemus amen alleluia.

(1. Let the glorious trumpet of the apostles sound alleluia for God.
2a. Let us also re-echo the joyful musical instruments with harmonious voice, giving proclamation with angelic praise,
2b. Because the solemnities of the apostle Martial now approach, whence the lowest and at the same time the highest rejoice.
3a. For indeed, may there be praise, honour and lasting glory for Christ,
3b. For whom Martial was pleasing with his shining virginity,
4a. A Hebrew from the chosen Hebrew stalk,
4b. Brought forth from the tribe of Benjamin.
5a. And through these sacred feasts of his, the joyful crowds praise You, Christ the King, in this holy palace, where the Aquitanian people came to know You,
5b. whose salvation and life you are, reigning eternally in glory with the highest power, you, apostolic dignity.
6a. The sacred and glittering lights themselves have been chosen by You,
6b. Which the number twelve and seventy-two signifies,
7a. Among whom Martial, sent into the Jewish fields, blazed with his own grace
7b. So that the lamb could bear peace among the wolves and who would suppress all the seeds of the wars
8a. And announce the deeds and words of God
8b. and preach the kingdoms of heaven, as they draw near.
9a. Through time itself, You, King, appearing in flesh in Judaea, have preached Your own presence, opening out great prodigies;
9b. When death was conquered, when shining victory already achieved, You made joyful Your disciples' hearts, which were filled with pain.
10a. Then You raised Martial to higher places,
10b. Giving him the ability to remit and to retain sins,
11a. To whom you gave the gifts of the holy spirit in Your breath,
11b. Whom Peter once had baptized under Your own command.
12a. And he who has been made a family relation to him by a legitimate carnal relationship,
12b. Perpetually remains his companion in Your clientship.
13a. And appeased by his pious prayer, Light of the apostles and true peace, give us your indulgence, unloosing all our shameful acts;

13b. Always driving far away those things that would oppose You, grant the joyful peace of the times, preserve the eternal homeland in which Martial reigns with You,
14a. Whom all of Gaul would demand as their highest father,
14b. Which, awaiting his fruit, remains outstanding,
15a. Whom Christ, while He was mounting to His own stars, blessed with His own right hand,
15b. Whose dominion is strengthened beyond measure through all the generations,
16. Whereby let us all exclaim at the same time, amen, alleluia.)

The prosa exhibits elevated language. As in the Introit trope *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus*, Adémar uses poetic locutions, such as "bissena" (6b) for twelve, instead of the more prosaic *duodecim*, the verb "laetificasti" ("you made joyful"; 9b), which occurs several times in the Psalms (e.g., 18.9, 20.7 and 103.15), and the rare compound "uerbigena" (3a), meaning "one begotten from the Word," i.e., Christ.[59] Other mannerisms evoke Classical usage, such as the preposition "inter" placed in postposition to its object ("Quos inter," 7a; "lupos inter," 7b), and the word order of versicle 14a: "Gallia summum poscat patrem uniuersa." The finite verb "poscat" is framed by two noun-adjective pairs ("Gallia . . . uniuersa" and "summum . . . patrem") in framing and interlocking order: nominative noun, accusative adjective, verb, accusative noun, nominative adjective. And the quotation from Psalm 138.17 in versicle 15b ("Cuius principatus est nimis confortatus") simultaneously confirms Adémar's knowledge of scripture and provides a reference to the liturgical function of this phrase as part of the Introit for the Common of Apostles.[60]

Even more frequent in this text are the parallel expressions that link opposite or contrasting ideas using homoeoptoton (words with the same case endings): "infima simulque suprema" (2b), "the lowest and at the same time the highest"; and homoeoteleuton (words with the same ending, here extending back before the case ending): "remittendi retinendi" (10b), "of remitting and retaining"; "sufflatione tua . . . iussione tua" (11a/b), "by Your breath . . . by Your command"; and "parentela . . . clientela" (12a/b), "relationship . . . clientship." The most complicated of these phrases occurs in versicle 9b: "Morte triumphata Clara uictoria iam completa," "When

[59] On poetic diction in the prosae, see Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 303–8; and Elfving, *Étude lexicographique*, pp. 57–72.
[60] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 115–16, and "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 394–95.

death has been conquered and shining victory already achieved." Here, the juxtaposition of "death" and "victory" confirm the same idea by expressing it from opposite points of view. The related figure of polyptoton (the same word with different case endings) also occurs: "Hebreus hebrea" (4a), which constitutes a strict application of the figure; and "lucentia . . . lumina" (6a), where both words (*luceo* and *lumen*) ultimately refer back to the root *luc* (whence *lux* and related words), and so this instance is somewhat freer than that in versicle 4a. Taken together, these features of the prosa's language give the text a learned, poetic and rhetorical tone.

Finally, Adémar invokes several musical images at the beginning of the text. Such references are quite common in sequence texts.[61] For example, both *Valde lumen* and *Alme deus*, two older prosae copied by Adémar into Pa 909, mention "carmina" or "cantica hippodorica," while *Valde lumen* further notes the use of the lyre and the hydraulic organ.[62] In *Apostolorum gloriosa*, Adémar refers to singing ("uoce consona," 2a) as well as the trumpet and musical instruments in general (1 and 2a) in terms that echo passages in the Old Testament, which would suggest, for an eleventh-century audience, the musical environment of Ancient Israel. These allusions first complement the New Testament imagery of the apostles alongside the trumpet in versicle 1, and then create the backdrop for the discussion of Martial's Jewish origins later in the prosa.[63] These musical references find echoes in other of Adémar's original texts.

[61] For a discussion of musical imagery in Aquitanian prosae, see Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 308–11; and Elfving, *Étude lexicographique*, pp. 160–88 and 203–59; the latter comments on the literary sources from Antiquity for these images, *ibid.*, pp. 204–8. See also Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 44–46; and Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges*, pp. 173–74, 288–98.

[62] *Valde lumen*, *Alme deus*, Edition III.1.A and B, respectively. "Carmina hippodorica," *Valde lumen* 6b; "cantica hippodorica," *Alme deus* 2b; discussion of the lyre and hydraulic organ, *Valde lumen* 5a, 8a, 8b.

[63] "Voce consona," 2 Chronicles 20.21; the trumpet and "organo" (the latter probably meaning wind instruments in general) are named at Psalm 150.3–4. They are also linked at 1 Chronicles 16.42, 2 Chronicles 23.13 and 29.26–27. The language of versicles 1 and 2a resembles 2 Chronicles 13.12: "qui clangunt tubis, et resonant contra uos." For "organa" as musical instruments in general (as I take it here), rather than "organs," or least of all polyphonic vocal compositions, see 1 Chronicles 15.16, 16.42; 2 Chronicles 23.13 and 29.27. On musical instruments in the Old Testament, see Weiss, *Die musikalischen Instrumente*; Finesinger, *Musical Instruments*; Kolari, *Musikinstrumente*; Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel*, pp. 262–387; and Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible*. On the medieval reactions to these passages, see McKinnon, "Musical Instruments"; and on the various significations of the term *organum* and its cognates in relation to musical instruments, see Elfving, *Étude lexicographique*, pp. 238–43; Reckow, "Organum-Begriff," pp. 39–115; Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges*, pp. 285–88; and Williams, "The Meaning of *organum*."

MUSICAL IMAGES IN THE TEXTS

These images range from simple imprecations to begin singing, through references to the sacred songs of the liturgical ceremonies, to detailed accounts of the genres and instruments of music. Both introductory tropes for the sequentiae in the troped Mass for Saint Martial invite a group to sing with the hortatory subjunctive "canamus" ("let us sing").[64] One might exercise caution in interpreting the first-person plural of the verb in a strictly literal sense to suggest the choral performance of the sequentia that follows in each case. Nevertheless, Adémar uses the text of the trope to stress the musical component of the liturgical item, the act of singing.

Alongside *Apostolorum gloriosa*, Adémar's two other surviving prosae, *Arce polorum* and *Nobis annua*, refer to songs of praise.[65] *Arce polorum*, for Saint Martial, offers a reflexive consideration of itself in two places: 3a. "Armonica fans organa turma musica tibi, rector, omnia promat dulcia laudum munia" ("Let the choir, as it sings the harmonious organa for you, Ruler, express all the sweet necessities of praise");[66] and 8b. "Agens festa celeberrima alta super sidera, omnipotens, tibi tua melodum pangat carmina Marcialis per sollempnia" ("Let Martial, while he is celebrating the most fully attended feasts above the lofty stars, Omnipotent One, sing your melodious songs during the solemnities"). Adémar's composition for the Dedication of the Cathedral of Saint Stephen in Limoges, *Nobis annua*, however, invokes the Sanctus, from the Ordinary of the Mass.

11a. Rogamus uocum armonia persoluendo tibi pneumata:
11b. Nos fac ut tua sanctus sanctus sanctus resultemus carmina.
(11a. Let us ask, with the harmony of our voices, by releasing the melismata for you:
11b. See to it that we re-echo your songs, "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.")

Taken together, these passages echo the kind of references frequently met in the Aquitanian prosa repertory, and distinguish themselves by presenting a rich array of vocabulary, as noted above.

[64] *Christus apostolico* introducing the sequentia *Arce polorum*, and *Marcialis primus* introducing *Concelebremus*; Edition I.3.N and O. Similar invitations occur in the twelfth-century Aquitanian *uersus* repertory; e.g., *Chorus noster recolat*, text printed in Spanke, "Die Londoner St. Martial-Conductushandschrift," p. 297.

[65] *Arce polorum*, Edition III.1.C; *Nobis annua*, III.2.A, of which Adémar composed the text alone to a pre-existing melody.

[66] "Choir" is a free rendering of "turma musica," or more literally "musical crowd." Here, as opposed to the passage in *Apostolorum gloriosa*, "armonica organa" might mean polyphonic songs.

More distinctive are the two passages in the Seventy-Two Verses about Saint Martial that treat musical issues.[67] Paul Hooreman touches on many of the interpretative issues this poem raises without discussing the imagery Adémar uses in these two sections, the first of which is made particularly conspicuous by its position at the opening of the poem.[68] As the poem begins, Adémar moves freely between biblical imagery and themes from classical antiquity. For example, while the name of Martial resounds in lyric odes in line 2 (employing the term used by the third-century literary critic Porphyry in his commentary on Horace for the classical poet's lyric songs), the list of instruments that immediately follows in line 4 closely resembles the inventory at 2 Samuel 6.5. The strings of the lyre accompany apostolic praises in trochaic or choreic verse in lines 5–6, and the classical muse Camena inspires the songs of Rome and Ravenna in line 7, while line 8, in its list of instruments, assembles several Old Testament musical images from 1 Chronicles 15.16, 19–20 and 28, as well as 1 Maccabees 13.51. Finally, as in the case of the prosa *Arce polorum* (discussed above), the "organa" in line 8, sung with "sonorous voice," may be polyphonic songs.

1. Magna uirum resonent domini praeconia Christi;
2. Marcialem liricae reboent concorditer odae;
3. Gallia tota sonet citharis et rithmice plaudat;
4. Applaudant sistris sacra timpana, cimbala, aena.
5. Musica flabra mouete modos fidibusque canoris,
6. Laudis apostolicae iubilo resonando choreis.
7. Roma Rauenna boent claris reboando camenis;
8. Hierusalem nablis canat organa uoce sonora
9. Discipulo regis cui constat apostolus ipse.

(1. Let the great pronouncements of Christ the lord echo the man;
2. May the lyric odes concordantly sound the name Martial;
3. Let all of Gaul resound with the cithara, and applaud rhythmically;
4. The holy drums and cymbals and the bronze horns should sound with the sistra.
5. Put the modes in motion, musical currents of air, and with sonorous strings
6. I exclaim by resounding with the trochaic verse of the apostolic praise.
7. Let Rome and Ravenna cry out by echoing with the famous songs of the muses;

[67] Edition IV. [68] Hooreman, "Saint-Martial de Limoges."

8. May Jerusalem sing organa with a sonorous voice and the accompaniment of the cithara
9. For the disciple of the king with whom the apostle himself agrees.)

Classical allusions return in a subsequent passage, lines 22–32. Adémar calls repeatedly for singers to exclaim the praises of Martial in lines 28–32 ("clamate," "cantate" and "dicemus cantu"), while also alluding to the ancient Roman practice of divination by reading the entrails of a slaughtered animal ("fibris").[69] All this is preceded by a catalogue of the muses, who also exult to the name of Martial, accompanied by lyres ("intensis fidibus uariatis"), flutes ("tibicinum turma") and singers ("chorus cantorum").[70]

22. Intensis modulis pulchris fidibus uariatis,
23. Calliope Talia Clio Melpomene musae
24. Euterpe soror Vraniaque canant modulando.
25. Sic Erato cum Terpsicore Polimnia dulcis
26. Tibicinumque chorus cantorum turma resultent
27. Marcialem domini patriarcham discipulumque.
28. Altisonae caeli turmae clamate potenter,
29. Viribus angelicae totis cantate cohortes,
30. Quomodo sumpsit apostolicum ius, promite fibris.
31. Plausibus armonicis uerum super astra polorum
32. Dicemus cantu modulos per climata cosmi.

(22. When the tightened strings have been varied with beautiful music,
23. Let the muses, Calliope, Thalia, Clio, Melpomene,
24. Their sister Euterpe and Urania sing melodiously.
25. Thus Erato, with Terpsichore, and the sweet Polyhymnia
26. The choir of flutists and the chorus of singers would shout forth
27. Martial, the patriarch and disciple of the Lord.
28. Cry out mightily, high-sounding assembly of heaven,
29. Sing with all your strength, angelic companies,
30. Tell from the entrails how he took up the apostolic right.
31. But, with harmonious clapping above the stars of the heavens,
32. Let us sing the melodies with a chant through the regions of the cosmos.)

[69] On divination in general, see Cicero, *De diuinatione*; on this form see *ibid.*, 1.33.72, 57.131, 2.12.28–17.41, ed. Giomini, pp. 44–45, 74–75, 89–96, respectively.

[70] See the anonymous poem, once attributed to Ausonius, *Nomina musarum*, in *Anthologia latina*, R. 664, printed in *Anthologia latina*, 1 pt. 2 (2nd edn, ed. Riese [Leipzig, 1906]): 134. See also Curtius, "Die Musen," who characterizes this poem as a transition between profane art and liturgical poetry, p. 164; Ziolkowski, "Classical Influences"; and Iversen, *Chanter avec les anges*, pp. 271–76.

These references seem to serve two purposes. First, they provide a learned tone to the work, giving Adémar ample opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of classical and biblical literature. Second, Adémar emphasizes, as he does in the tropes and prosae cited above, the importance of music and musical performance in sacred ceremonies. The rhetorical formulations of this poem, therefore, as well as the musical allusions in his other works, reveal the power that Adémar observed music to possess in the liturgy. Consequently, his choice of diction and expression here may help to explain why he chose to base his public appeal for support of Martial's apostolic status around the musical items of Mass and Office.

ADÉMAR'S COMPOSITIONAL STYLE: ADAPTATIONS

Adémar employed a variety of compositional techniques in his original compositions, ranging from the adaptation of an existing melody to a new text, through pieces created through the combination of common formulae, to completely new compositions. The first technique, commonly known as contrafactum, requires the least original compositional thought and is relatively rare in Adémar's output, as the section marked "Text only" in Appendix B shows: four independent pieces in the liturgy for Martial and twelve in the Offices for Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard; all the other pieces in this section of Appendix B employ melodic formulae, such as responsory tones or the Introit tone, for which Adémar has composed new texts.

Adémar was familiar with the technique of adaptation from his knowledge of pieces created in this way for the episcopal Office of Saint Martial, the antiphon *Hoc audiens*, for example. Its melody is a common one in mode 4, probably best known with the text *Et facta est comes*, an antiphon for the feast of Saint Denis. It also appears in contracted form with the text *Sanctissime confessor* for Saint Benedict. Adémar knew both versions from Pa 1085, and I give the version of *Et facta est comes* as it is found in Pa 1088, a late twelfth- or thirteenth-century antiphoner from Aquitaine.[71] Here and in the examples discussed below I do not present the evidence from Pa 1085 or the versions from Pa 1088 as firm models

[71] Pa 1085, fol. 78r, gives *Hoc audiens* as part of Lauds for the Octave of Saint Martial; Adémar places it in Lauds for the main feast, Pa 909 fol. 69r (Edition II.3.D). *Et facta est comes* (*CAO* 3: no. 2701 p. 207) and *Sanctissime confessor* (*CAO* 3: no. 4752 p. 458) occur in Pa 1085 fols. 90v and 39r, respectively; *Et facta est comes* in Pa 1088[2] fol. 169r-v.

for the new compositions based on these pieces. Rather I suggest that monastic musicians of this period, including Adémar, knew these chants from their participation in the daily round of the liturgy, and so they could have used them, consciously or subconsciously, as models for their new creations.

Example 5.1 shows just how closely the two chants resemble each other: melody, phrase and cadential structure, and modality are all identical. The principal mode of adaptation lies in accommodating different numbers of syllables in the two texts. In two places (marked **m** and **n**), the two chants disagree in the number of syllables, and at the three cadences (marked **o**, **p** and **q**), *Hoc audiens* has one syllable fewer than *Et facta est comes. Hoc audiens* further differs from *Et facta est comes* at two of these cadences (**o** and **q**) by presenting much less embellishment. This tendency extends to another phrase (marked **r**). These differences in the level of embellishment, however, may not have resulted from the adaptation of a new text so much as they may depend on the processes of transmission, the musical propensities of the individual scribe or the performing tradition of which he was part.[72] Moreover, the version in Pa 1088 is approximately 200 years younger than that known to the musician who created *Hoc audiens* in the generation before Adémar, if not earlier. It is quite possible that the version of *Et facta est comes* that served as the model for *Hoc audiens*, as recorded by Adémar in Pa 909, may have resembled the latter in the level of embellishment more than it did the later version of *Et facta est comes* preserved in Pa 1088.

Adémar's adaptation of the antiphon *Gloriosus apparuisti*, from the Office of Saint Michael, as *Cum angelis*, for Valérie, evinces a somewhat freer approach to the technique (see Example 5.2).[73] The principal difference between the two renderings of the melody lies in the distribution of text under the melody, rather than differences in the number of syllables for individual phrases. So, in several places, a binary ligature in one version corresponds to two separate *puncta* in the other (marked **m**, **n** and **o**). The first two instances (**m** and **n**) form part of a larger redistribution of text in the first half of the first phrase. This passage ascends from G, the first note of the melody, to D, a fifth above and the reciting tone of the mode, to which E functions as an upper neighbour.

[72] For a discussion of these issues in regards to the twelfth-century Aquitanian *uersus*, see Grier, "Scribal Practices," especially pp. 400–20.

[73] *Cum angelis* occurs in the second nocturn of Matins for Valérie, Pa 909 fol. 80r (Edition VI.2.2.F). *Gloriosus apparuisti* appears in Pa 1085 fol. 89r, and Pa 1088[2] fol. 138r.

Example 5.1. Antiphons *Hoc audiens* Pa 909 fol. 69r, and *Et facta est comes* Pa 1088[2] fol. 169r-v

IIII

Hoc au- di- ens, san- ctis- si- mus pa- - ter

Et fa- cta__ est cho- mes mul- ti- - tu- - do

con- uo- - - - - ca- - tis_____ fra- tri- - bus in-

ce- les- - - - - tis__ ex- - - er- ci- - tus ex-

o m

di- ca- uit_____ e- is re- so- - - -

a- - ni- mis____ cor- po- ris be- a- - - ti

p

lu- - ti- - o- - nem pro- pri- i cor- po- -

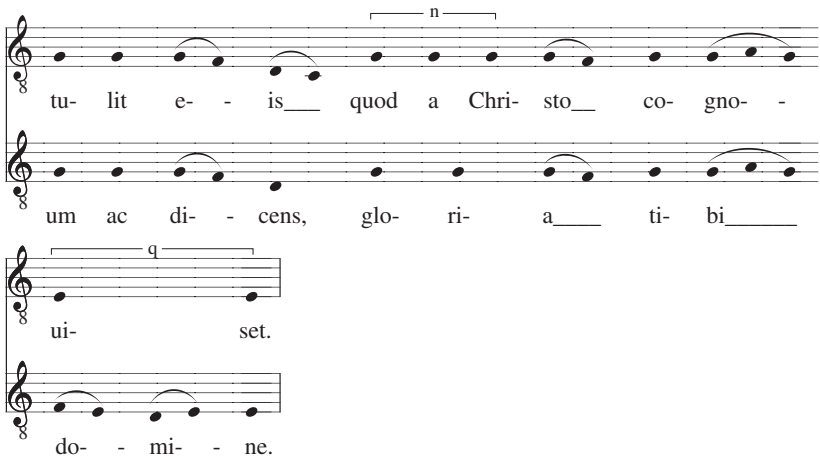
Di- o- - ni- - si- - i, ca- put pro- pri- - -

r

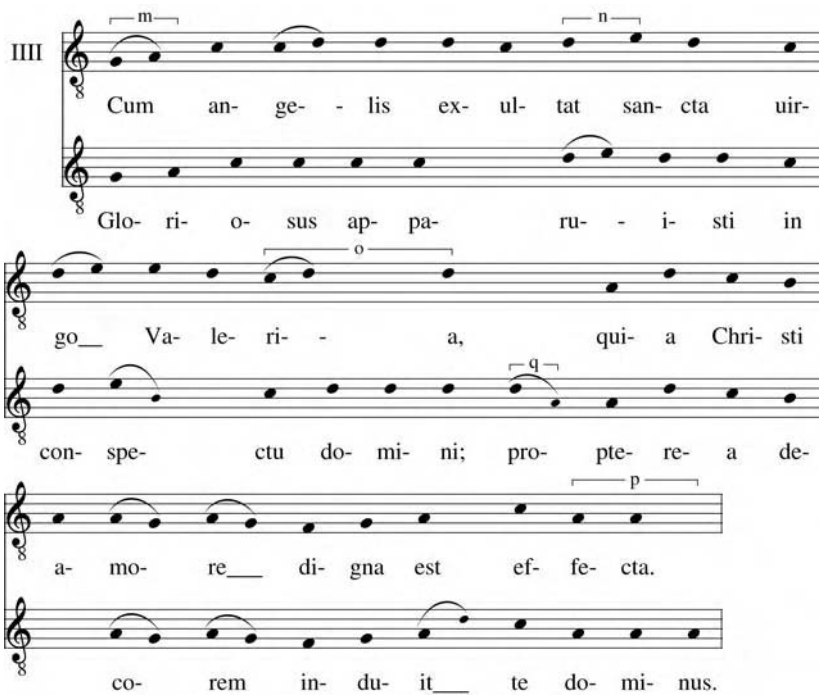
ris__ im- mi- ne- re, at- que re- - -

um_____ de- por- - tan- tis, lau- - dans de- - -

Example 5.1. (*cont.*)



Example 5.2. Antiphons *Cum angelis* Pa 909 fol. 80r, and *Gloriosus apparuisti* Pa 1088[2] fol. 138r



Each version employs the same number of syllables of text for this ascent ("Cum angelis exultat sancta" and "Gloriosus apparuisti"), but each arrives at its melodic goal in a different way. *Cum angelis* reaches the D more quickly, while *Gloriosus apparuisti* delays on the C below. *Cum angelis* then emphasizes the arrival on D by placing the final accented syllable of the passage (the first syllable of "sancta") on E, the upper neighbour of the melodic goal, D, creating a melodic figure that resembles an appoggiatura. *Gloriosus apparuisti*, on the other hand, creates a different effect by anticipating the final accent (the penultimate syllable of "apparuisti") with the binary neume D–E, and then reiterating the goal tone, D, on the accented and final syllables of the word.

The two cadences also illustrate contrasting treatments of textual distribution. The first (marked **o**) shows how the same final accent, proparoxytonic in this case, is handled differently. *Gloriosus apparuisti* simply recites on D, the cadential pitch, for all three syllables of the final word of the phrase, "domini," preceded by C, a second below the cadential pitch. The cadence in *Cum angelis* places D on the accented syllable, the antepenultimate of "Valeria," before the melody descends to C, and then compresses the cadential motion C–D into a binary neume on the unaccented penultimate. Again, the effect of each version of the cadence differs. The final cadence, meanwhile, follows the same form in both versions (marked **p**). The final accented syllable in each case is set with the cadential pitch, A, which is then reiterated, once for the paroxytonic ending of *Cum angelis*, twice for the proparoxytone in *Gloriosus apparuisti*.

Finally, the link between the cadence of the first phrase and the beginning of the second shows some difference. In *Cum angelis*, the melody drops by "silent" leap from the cadential pitch of the first phrase, D, down a fourth to A, the first pitch of the second phrase. *Gloriosus apparuisti* creates a smoother connection by beginning the second phrase on D, the cadential pitch of the first phrase, and joining it to A a fourth below by a descending liquescence (marked **q**). The two versions then proceed one syllable out of synchronization, as it were, until the trisyllabic, paroxytonic word that ends the first section of the phrase: "decorem" in *Gloriosus apparuisti* and "amore" in *Cum angelis*. This passage ends with two identical binary neumes, A–G, and in each case these neumes fall on the accented penultimate syllable and the final syllable. Consequently, Adémar, to preserve this accentuation in *Cum angelis*, must add a note for the first syllable of "amore." Therefore, Adémar's adaptation of *Gloriosus apparuisti* consists principally of minor

Example 5.3. Responsories *Virtus diuina* Pa 1978 fol. 102v, and *Scindite corda uestra* Pa 1088[1] fol. 231r-v

IIII
Vir- tus__ di- ui- na_____
m
Scin- di- te cor- da ue- stra_____
in be- a- - to__ ful- ge- bat
n
et non ue- sti- men- ta_____ ue- - - stra,____
E- - - - - - - par- chi- o . . . .
et___ con- - - uer- ti- - mini . . . .

adjustments to the melody to accommodate a slightly different relationship between text and music.

The only responsory, among those Adémar composed for the Offices of Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, that seems closely based on a pre-existing chant is *Virtus diuina*, which survives as a fragment. Example 5.3 shows that its opening accords very closely with that of *Scindite corda uestra*, for the first Sunday of Lent.[74] The openings agree almost identically, with the exception that the melody of *Scindite corda uestra* accommodates two extra syllables, the word "corda" (marked **m**), an alteration typical of the antiphons discussed above. The preserved balance of the melody of *Virtus diuina* shows that it diverges from that of *Scindite corda uestra* by avoiding the cadence in the latter on "uestra"

[74] *Virtus diuina* falls in the third nocturn of Matins for Saint Cybard, Pa 1978 fol. 102v (Edition VIII.3.B); it is incomplete at the end of the folio. *Scindite corda uestra* occurs in Pa 1085 fol. 45v, and Pa 1088[1] fol. 231r-v.

(marked **n**), and continuing the phrase at least through the setting of "Eparchio." This type of modification is not found in the antiphons. It is difficult to draw marked conclusions from this small sample of evidence, but it may be that responsories, with their greater length and more melismatic melodic gestures, may well demand different strategies of adaptation.

FORMULAIC COMPOSITION

I classify two types of compositional approach under this category: first, the combination of formulae typical to the mode and genre with unexceptional melodic writing that uses conjunct motion and a great deal of recitation; and second, the confection of new melodies from conventional formulae. The two distinguish themselves by the use, in the first category, of routine melodic material that might be considered melodic filler. A number of examples of the first occur in Adémar's Offices for Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard, the quantity of which might reveal the challenges that await the composer who would create an entirely new Office. The task of creating nearly two dozen antiphons (the number required for a single Office) that are completely original in their melodic fabric would challenge the most capable composer. Limitations of mode and genre (in the antiphon particularly, regarding the length of the individual piece) inhibit the creative scope of the composer.

The antiphon ad cantica for the third nocturn of Matins in the Office of Saint Cybard, *Cumque cursum*, provides a typical, if somewhat extreme, example (see Example 5.4).[75] The first three phrases are dominated by recitation on G, A and D, respectively (marked **m**, **n** and **o**). Each phrase moves away from its respective note of recitation to cadence on a different pitch in conventional style, and other gestures are equally conventional, such as the opening, which demarcates the plagal register of the chant, and the leap of a fifth, G–D, at the beginning of the third phrase, that serves to introduce the upper limits of the register in preparation for a new locus of recitation on D. In the fourth phrase (**p**), recitation on a single pitch gives way to oscillation between two, A and B, which again cadences on another note, this time G.

Adémar reserves the most dramatic formulation of the chant for the final phrase, on the direct speech of Christ to Cybard: "Eparchi, hic

[75] Pa 1978 fol. 102v (Edition VIII.3.A).

Example 5.4. Antiphon *Cumque cursum* Pa 1978 fol. 102v

VIII

m

Cum- que cur- sum et o- ra- ti- o- nem per- e-

n

gis- set, sub- la- tum la- pi- dem ad ca- put su- um

o

de- po- su- it, et___ dum_____ se in e- o- dem

p

lo- co so- po- ri___ de- dis- set, uox Chri- sti ad e- um

de- su- per fa- - cta__ est: "E- - par- - - - - chi,

hic per- ma- ne, iam am- pli- us no- li ua- ga- ri."

permane, iam amplius noli uagari" ("Cybard, remain here and wander no further"). The vocative "Eparchi" employs an arch-shaped gesture that opens with a chain of thirds starting from the G on which the previous phrase ends. The arch reaches through the top half of the plagal range and devotes the longest melisma of the chant to the stressed syllable of Cybard's Latin name. This passage then receives its melodic answer in the form of an inverted arch that descends to the lower half of the plagal range. Adémar sets the final imperative of Christ's speech, "noli uagari" ("do not wander"), to the chain of thirds built on F, thereby providing a contrast to the chain that opens the final phrase. By using this formulation, the arch then reaches not to the D to which other phrases in the chant ascend, but to the C a second below, in preparation for the final cadence on G.

Some might say that the relatively mundane setting of the first four phrases provides a rhetorical frame for the dramatic conclusion of the chant. While I do not deny the effectiveness of this contrast and I fully

Example 5.5. Responsory *Gemina lampada* Pa 909 fol. 84r-v

III

Ge- - mi- na lam- - - - - - pa- da sa- cer-

do- - - tum e- - - - - - rat__ cum a- - - po-

sto- lo_____ san- - - cto__ ut___ tri- - - - -

pli- ci do- cto- - - - - - - rum fu- ni- cu-

lo_____ for- ti- tu- do__ ec- cle- si-

a- rum_____ fir- - mi- - - - - ter__

fun- - - da- - - ta e- - - - - ri- - ge- -

re- - - - tur.

appreciate the melodic invention of the last phrase, I would ascribe the featureless quality of the balance of the chant to a reliance on formulaic composition for the setting of straightforward narrative. Clearly, Adémar wished to give the direct speech of Christ a distinctive melodic shape, and he succeeded. From this, we need not infer that the rest of the chant was deliberately left uninteresting to create a rhetorical contrast.

Since Walter Howard Frere's groundbreaking study of responsory melodies in his facsimile edition of the Sarum Antiphoner, plainsong scholars have recognized that many of these chants consist of combinations

of conventional phrases.[76] Several of Adémar's original compositions employ some of the formulae identified by Frere, of which *Gemina lampada*, from the Office for Austriclinian, provides a typical example (see Example 5.5).[77] The symbols above the staff correspond to the designations given by Frere to the constituent phrases of responsories in mode 3.[78] Frere identified two types of phrases in each responsory melody: an opening gesture, assigned the letter *O*, and subsequent phrases, grouped according to their cadential pitch. In mode 3, a common opening phrase combines O^b with the cadence of Frere's phrase B^1, a combination Adémar employs to begin *Gemina lampada*. Subsequent phrases show a variety of cadential pitches, creating tonal variety, although the sequence B^1–E^2 occurs twice: once directly at the cadence that precedes the *repetendum* (cadence on "sancto," *repetendum* beginning "ut triplici"), and a second time, with the phrase f^2 interposed, at the end of the respond, thereby creating a rhyming cadence. Adémar places responsories of this type, derived from conventional formulae, alongside freely composed pieces, examples of which I discuss below.

FREE COMPOSITIONS: OFFICE CHANTS

Adémar produced original compositions in virtually every genre of plainsong in practice during his generation, as Appendix B shows. Here, I shall focus on a few of the more distinctive items in his oeuvre to demonstrate the principal aspects of his compositional style. The largest number of new pieces fall in the newly composed Offices for Saints Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard mentioned above. Many of those chants depend on the kind of formulaic composition discussed in the previous section, and therefore present a relatively undistinguished profile. A number of examples from the Office for Saint Valérie, however, stand out as more distinctive contributions to their respective genres.

The antiphon *Sancta dei martir*, assigned to Sext in the Office for Saint Valérie, shows how Adémar uses range, through both gradual unfolding and abrupt registral changes, to devise the dramatic shape of the melody,

[76] Frere, ed., *Antiphonale sarisburiense*, pp. 3–61. See also Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 330–44; and Hucke, "Das Responsorium," pp. 182–91. For applications of Frere's analyses, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 71–73; and "The *Historia* of St. Julian," pp. 448–54. For a different analytical approach, based on textual/melodic periods, see Wagner, *Einführung*, 3: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, pp. 329–44.

[77] Pa 909 fol. 84r-v (Edition VII.1.3.C).

[78] Frere, ed., *Antiphonale sarisburiense*, pp. 29–32.

while he simultaneously creates long-range tonal tension between two interlocking fifths, C–G, and that built on the final, D–A (see Example 5.6).[79] The opening gesture, through the appositive "beata Valeria," presents an antecedent/consequent pair of melodic shapes. The antecedent (marked **m**) adumbrates the eventual tonal tension by rising from the final, D, through a fourth to G, rather than to A, as often happens in mode 1 chants. A symmetrical arch seems to be completed with the D that concludes "dei," but the phrase immediately continues to a cadence on E, in contrast with the D that already begins to emerge as a tonal centre. Both the subfinal, C, and the fifth above the final, A, are missing from this phrase to complete the foreshadowing of the interlocking fifths that dominate the balance of the chant.

Both fifths are completed in the consequent phrase that ensues (marked **n**). The melody immediately reinstates D to a position of importance by beginning from it, and marks A, the fifth above, as a note of nearly equal importance by ascending to it directly by thirds, and embellishing it with the upper neighbour, B (probably B♭ within the soft hexachord implied by the proximity of F). The phrase returns to D, its point of departure, to describe the symmetrical arch that failed to occur in the antecedent. The melody does not reach its cadence, however, without first calling attention to the descending fifth, G–C, on the first three syllables of "Valeria." Therefore, this opening gesture presents a gradual unfolding of the lower portion of the authentic range, with decoration of the extremes, A and D, by upper and lower neighbours, B(♭) and C, respectively. The final D begins to emerge as the tonal centre, although Adémar gives early indications that the interlocking fifth, C–G, will play an important tonal role in the unfolding of the melody.

The second principal phrase (marked **o**) opens by discarding the gradual exploration of range and leaping, "silently" across the break between phrases, to A. After its decoration, again with the upper neighbour, B, the melody then descends, now by conjunct motion, with every expectation of another cadence on D, reinforcing the tonal priorities outlined in the previous phrase. The phrase reaches C on the third syllable of "periculis," and seems poised to cadence on D when Adémar presents another surprise: the melody leaps up a fifth to G, the cadential pitch. The phrase that looked as though it would simply confirm the status of D by

[79] Pa 909 fol. 81r-v (Edition VI.6.A). The text of this chant is one of only two in Valérie's Office for which Emerson found no source in Adémar's sermons, "Two Newly Identified Offices," pp. 43–45; the other is the antiphon *Corpus uirginis*, in the second nocturn of Matins.

Example 5.6. (a) Antiphon *Sancta dei martir* Pa 909 fol. 81r-v, (b) Reductive analysis

(a) I

San- - - cta de- i___ mar- tir, be- - a- -
ta___ Va- - le- ri- - a, nul- - - - - lis_____
ter- ri- ta pe- ri- cu- - lis, con- stan- - ter____
tor- men- - ta de- - ri- sit; in a- - go- ne____
for- - - ti cu- - cur- rit__ ad__ pal- mam, fe-
lix- - que cum Chri- sto co- ro- na- ta__ tri- um- phat.

(b)

descending to it in conjunct motion becomes, through its unusual ending, an inverted and asymmetrical arch. Adémar also foreshadows the role of G in this phrase by reversing the overall melodic descent on "territa," whose setting rises back to G before the descent recommences on the next word, "periculis." Thus, the fifth that concludes the phrase by leap is anticipated in conjunct descent.

The unforeseen cadence on G is answered, at the opening of the next phrase (marked **p**), by another "silent" leap of a fifth, this time descending to the subfinal, C. From this starting point, the phrase describes two arches, first to G, reinforcing the fifth, C–G (which is further emphasized by the descending leap from the end of "constanter" to the beginning of "tormenta"), and then to F, before cadencing on D. This cadence firmly establishes D as the tonal centre, but the overall complexion of the phrase highlights the contrasts, on the one hand, between the gradual exploration of range and the sudden registral shift by leap, and, on the other, between the competing tonalities based on D and C, and buttressed by their respective upper fifths, A and G.

The following, and penultimate, phrase (marked **q**) explores new territory first by reciprocating the "silent" descending leap of a fifth that preceded the previous phrase with an ascending leap up a fifth, D–A, and then by rising into the upper portion of the authentic range, eventually to D, an octave above the final. The fact that Adémar has deferred use of this register until now lends it further emphasis, and he employs the high range for an emotionally charged text: "in agone forti cucurrit ad palmam" ("in courageous martyrdom she ran to the palm of victory"). Adémar employs a double pun. First, *agon*, in classical Latin, means the public games, which might include foot races ("cucurrit"), and whose victor is awarded the *palma*. In post-classical Latin, *agon* acquires a number of meanings, most particularly "martyrdom," as I translate it above. The second pun, then, arises from the meaning of *palma*, which first completes the image of the games implied by *agon*, and which then identifies martyrdom as a victory over death, as the text concludes: "coronata triumphat" ("crowned [with the palm of victory], she triumphs").[80]

The setting of this text describes two arches that further illuminate the tonal contrasts between the two interlocking fifths, C–G and D–A. The first arch rises to C, a seventh above the final. The point of departure is A,

[80] This diction echoes that of an antiphon for Saint Denis: "Adest namque beati Dionysii sacratissima dies, in qua triumphans agonem explevit, et coronam victoriae accipere meruit de manu Domini." *CAO*, 3: no. 1264, p. 30.

the first note of the phrase, but G appears, ostensibly as a lower neighbour to A. This juxtaposition of A and G creates ambiguity in the shape of the arch. Does it ascend a third, from A to C, or a fourth from G to C? Both interpretations affect our perception of the long-range tonal structure of the chant. The first reading, A–C, would extend a putative chain of thirds based on the final, D, through the seventh. Below, I comment on Adémar's use of such chains of thirds in this melody. The second reading, G–C, reinterprets the upper C as a duplication of the lower C at the octave, and brings it into the orbit of the contrasting fifth, C–G.

No such ambiguity exists in the second arch. The first arch unmistakably ends on G, with a single note on this pitch for the second syllable of "forti," and anticipates the beginning of the second arch on the same pitch above the word "cucurrit." This arch ascends to D and outlines the fifth G–D, thus creating a symmetrical chain of fifths beginning on the subfinal, C, through the ninth to D. This fifth, G–D, is tempered by the descent from the arch's peak, on D, to the phrase's cadence on A, the original point of departure for the phrase. With this cadence, the phrase follows a double arch that is symmetrical with respect to its beginning and ending pitches.

The final phrase (marked **r**) provides the kind of tonally reaffirming descent from A to the final, D, that Adémar caused us to expect, but denied us, in the second phrase (marked **o**). Even here, though, the contrasting fifth, C–G, retains a strong presence in the descent over the last two syllables of "coronata" to the beginning of the setting of "triumphat." Still, this final presentation is entirely contained within the last unfolding of the tonally preeminent fifth, A–D, over the entire setting of the final textual phrase, "coronata triumphat." By framing the fifth on the subfinal, C–G, within the presentation of the fifth on the final, D–A, Adémar definitively resolves the tonal tension between the two by subordinating the former to the latter.

Above, I briefly mentioned the idea that chains of thirds may play some role in the melodic structure of this chant. Such formulations, while by no means universal, are common in chant. The notes that would complete the interlocking chains of thirds implied by the tonally contrasting fifths, F and E, completing the fifths D–A and C–G, respectively, assume subdued postures in *Sancta dei martir*, but each makes its presence felt, creating a kind of subtext within the tonal matrix. Adémar draws attention to both notes alternately, but neither participates often and openly in melodic formulations that emphasize the chains of thirds. Already, at the end of the opening antecedent phrase (**m**), a cadence falls on E, and the

answering consequent phrase (**n**) immediately fills in the opening ascent from D to A with the third, F.

In the second principal phrase (**o**), E functions as the pivot when the melodic motion temporarily reverses its prevailing descending motion, on "territa," to rise back to G. The balance of this phrase, with its descent through the fifth, G–C, and its unexpected cadence on G via an ascending leap of a fifth, fills out this chain of thirds. The next phrase (**p**) emphasizes F by twice making it the goal of an ascending leap of a fourth from the subfinal, C, on "constanter" and "tormenta." In the penultimate phrase (**q**), one reading of the first arch (on "in agone forti") would interpret the peak, on C, as an extension of the chain of thirds on D through the seventh, as discussed above. Finally, the concluding cadence revisits both pitches in the *epiphonus*, E–F, that immediately precedes the cadential pitch, D.

These long-range tonal relationships, including the putative chains of thirds, are illustrated in the reductive analysis presented in Example 5.6b above.[81] There, I identify individual phrases by the letters assigned them in Example 5.6a. The fifth on the final, D–A, is represented by whole notes, the interlocking fifth on the subfinal, C–G (along with the complementary fifth above, G–D), by half notes, and notes that complete chains of thirds by stemless noteheads. Ties denote the prolongation of individual notes, and slurs show how the fifths and related chains of thirds dominate passages of the melody. The graph demonstrates to what degree these two interlocking fifths control the tonal fabric of the melody. By carefully balancing the tension between them, and by marshalling the resources of range (in particular, by reserving the higher portion of the range of mode 1 for the crucial phrase "in agone forti cucurrit ad palmam"), Adémar creates a melody that unfolds in a highly dramatic way, and reflects the drama of the narrative recounted in the text.

In contrast, the responsory *Dux Stephanus*, in the second nocturn of Matins, presents less tonal variety: most cadences fall on F, and rhyming cadences occur before the *repetendum* (beginning "et furore") and at the end of the refrain (marked **m**).[82] (See Example 5.7.) The responsory does, however, show a remarkable use of range to depict characterization. The names of the two principal characters occur in the first two phrases, and each receives a distinctive treatment. The chant opens with the name of Duke

[81] On the reductive analysis of plainsong, see Novack, "The Analysis of Pre-Baroque Music," pp. 114–16; and Schulenberg, "Modes, Prolongation, and Analysis," pp. 315–16.
[82] Pa 909 fol. 80r (Edition VI.2.2.G).

Example 5.7. Responsory *Dux Stephanus* Pa 909 fol. 80r

VI
Dux Ste- - pha- nus, re- di- ens
Le- - - mo- - - - - - - - ui- - cas, com- pe- rit
Va- le- - - - - - - - ri- am er- ro- - - rem
re- - spu- - - - - - - is- - - - - - - - se i-
do- - - - - lo- - - rum; et fu- ro- - - - re
ui- - - - ctus, ius- sit e- - am
gla- - - - - di- - o de- - - - - - - - - - - -
col- - - - la- - - - ri.

Stephen, Valérie's spurned suitor and eventual slayer, set in a nearly syllabic fashion in the lower half of the modal range (marked **n**). Adémar answers that sombre statement by placing Valérie's name in the higher portion of the range, and supplying a lengthy melisma on the accented antepenultimate syllable (marked **o**). These two contrasting settings, placed in close proximity, establish the dynamic between the two characters, identifying Valérie as the protagonist, and create the backdrop of the narrative that ensues.

Adémar revisits these two distinct ranges during the final phrase of the refrain, where Valérie meets her fate: "iussit eam gladio decollari" ("he

ordered her to be decapitated with a sword"). The setting of "gladio" ("sword," the instrument of death) begins in the lower part of the range (marked **p**), like Stephen's name (the agent of death). The verb "decollari" is given a melismatic setting in the high register, never dropping below the final, F (marked **q**). Not only does this setting connect the act of decapitation with Valérie, for she, after all, is its victim, but in doing so it also implies that her decapitation becomes a positive act, an act of martyrdom; and martyrdom, as the text of *Sancta dei martir* shows, is a victory over death. In this way, Adémar highlights the narrative theme of the chant by these contrasts in range.

SEQUENCE: *ARCE POLORUM*

The sequence, untexted or texted, may have been the first musical genre to which Adémar turned his hand as a composer. Above, I discuss the evidence in Pa 1121 that supports this claim. The sample I have chosen to analyze here, however, originated slightly later than the early pieces in Pa 1121, and forms part of the apostolic polemic for Saint Martial. *Arce polorum* occurs in Adémar's autograph as both prosa and sequentia, and he signals the appearance of the latter in the troped Mass for Martial by a cue with the introductory trope *Christus apostolico*.[83] Like many early sequences, it opens and closes with single versicles (stanzas I and II), and all intermediate stanzas consist of paired versicles (see Example 5.8).[84] In the latter combination, both versicles in a pair are sung to the same melody, while each stanza presents new musical material. This sequence also possesses a double link with the Alleluia: its melody shares its incipit with the *Alleluia* ℣ *Non uos me elegistis*, and the first word of every stanza and half-stanza begins with the letter *a*, forming assonance with the word *alleluia*.[85]

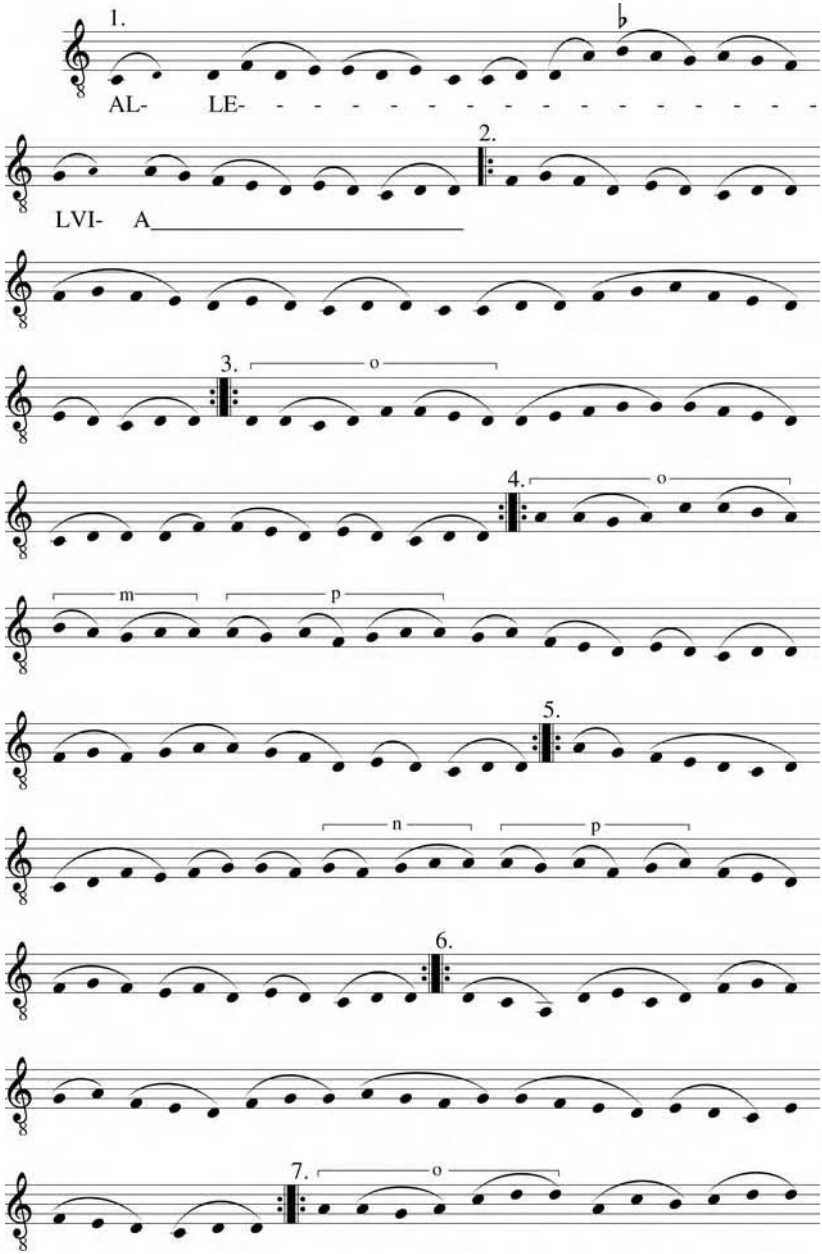
The melody clearly evinces a protus tonality, as every stanza except stanza 9 cadences on D. Like many sequences, however, it explores the extremes of both the authentic (stanzas 4, 7, 9 and 10) and plagal (stanza 6)

[83] Prosa, Pa 909 fols. 198r-199v (Edition III.1.C); sequentia, Pa 909 fol. 118r (IXA.17.A); cued in the troped Mass, Pa 909 fol. 46r (I.3.N).

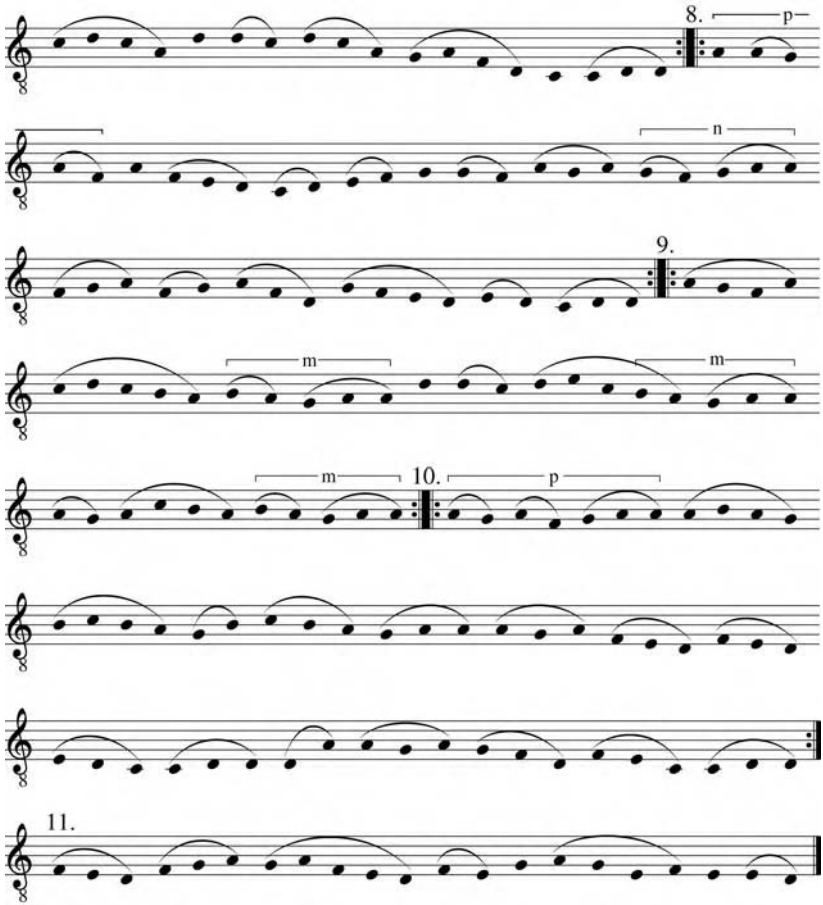
[84] On the incidence of paired and unpaired versicles, see Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 371–80.

[85] Adémar specifies that the *Alleluia* ℣ *Non uos me elegistis* be sung as part of the troped Mass for Martial, Pa 909 fol. 46r (Edition I.3.M); on this Alleluia, see Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 79 p. 107; for the melody, *idem*, ed., *MMMA* 7:335–37. Regarding assonance on the letter *a* in sequence texts, see Björkvall and Haug, "Sequence and Versus," p. 59.

Example 5.8. Sequentia *Acre polorum* Pa 909 fol. 118r



Example 5.8. (*cont.*)



range, and so an unambiguous modal classification in either mode 1 or 2 is unattainable.[86] Much of the chant (stanzas 1–3, 5, 8 and 11) employs the register common to both protus modes, the space between D and A. In combination with these non-committal passages, the preference for the higher portion of the authentic range over the single excursion into the lower part of the plagal range suggests that, should a definitive modal

[86] On modal ambiguity in tropes, see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 86–87; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 50–53; *idem*, "A New Voice," pp. 1030–32; and *idem*, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 111–13.

assignment be necessary, the sequence would fall in mode 1. This deduction finds reinforcement in the prominence of A, the reciting tone of that mode, as a secondary tonal centre; Adémar features this pitch most clearly at the cadence of stanza 9, which ends on A, as well as at many intermediate cadences on the same pitch throughout the chant (e.g., the first cadence in each of stanzas 4 and 5, marked **m** and **n**).

Adémar uses these intermediate cadences for two purposes. First, they break up the melodies of the individual stanzas into constituent phrases, which often correspond to grammatical units in the text of the prosa.[87] Second, they contribute to the melodic unity of the sequence in that they all employ the same form, namely that of the conventional sequence cadence: the immediately pre-cadential pitch lies a major second below the cadence pitch, which is then repeated (e.g., C–D–D and G–A–A). The repeated cadential pitch is indicated by a special neume, the *pes stratus*, as discussed in Chapter 2 above. And further, these cadences fall on a limited number of pitches: principally the final, D (including two cadences in stanza 7 on D an octave above the final), and A; two cadences, in stanzas 3 and 6, fall on G.

Adémar further differentiates both intermediate and final cadences by using a variety of approaches to those which fall on A, while using rhyming cadences on virtually all those which end on D. The vast majority of cadential formulae on the final, D, are preceded by the notes E–D (i.e., E–D, followed by C–D–D), often as a binary neume, but sometimes at the end of longer combinations. All cadences on that pitch in stanzas 1–6 employ this formulation. Adémar moves away from this figure first at the end of stanza 7, where the subfinal, C, is repeated immediately before the repetition of the cadential pitch. A similar figure appears at the end of stanza 10. Stanza 8 ends with the familiar rhyming cadence, while stanza 9 avoids cadences on D altogether. The final cadence, at the conclusion of stanza 11, achieves closure by abandoning the repetition of the cadential pitch and its preceding ascending motion from the subfinal, substituting for it a simple descent from the repeated pitch E to a single note on the final, D.

The rhyming cadence also appears in this sequence, transposed up a fifth, on A (e.g., in the first phrase in stanza 4, which is the first cadence on A in the piece, and all three cadences in stanza 9; these are marked **m** in Example 5.8). Adémar approaches cadences on A with several other

[87] See Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 380–85.

figures, however. Most distinctive is the cadence that is preceded by the binary neume G–F (first cadences in stanzas 5 and 8, marked **n**). This gesture creates an ascent to the cadential pitch from a major third below (F–G–A), whose intervallic content cannot be duplicated below the final because of the absence of B♭ in the lower portion of the gamut.[88] Thus, Adémar uses the cadences on A not only for tonal variety, creating a secondary tonal centre in contrast to the final, D, but also for melodic variety. In doing so, he capitalizes on the different intervallic disposition around the two notes, and therefore echoes Guido d'Arezzo's theory about the identification of individual notes, which depends on what intervals lie above and below them.[89]

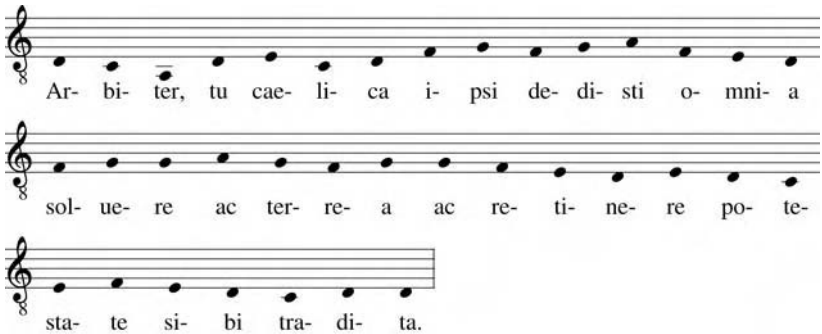
Adémar also creates long-range melodic associations by the judicious placement of similar or identical motifs, as are commonly found in sequences.[90] The most pervasive of these first occurs at the opening of stanza 3; it immediately reappears at the beginning of the next stanza, now transposed up a fifth to begin on A, and again commencing stanza 7, with a different continuation (all marked **o** in Example 5.8). This last occurs immediately after the appearance of the lower portion of the plagal range in stanza 6, and it seems to balance that registral shift by reaffirming the higher segment of the authentic range.

A varied form of the motif, made distinctive by its leaping down a third to F rather than up to C, occurs midway through stanza 4, is repeated precisely as the opening of stanza 10, and recurs with varied continuations midway through stanza 5 and at the beginning of stanza 8 (all marked **p**). These motivic associations are conspicuous to the listener by their position at the opening of several stanzas (3, 4, 7, 8 and 10) or immediately following intermediate cadences (stanzas 4 and 5), just as the rhyming cadences discussed above move to the foreground by ending the stanzas and intermediate phrases. So, in combination with the rhyming cadences, the melodic motifs unify the piece and, through their appearance in precise transposition, reinforce the bipolar tonality around D and A.

Finally, the text of the prosa shows many similarities with that of *Apostolorum gloriosa*, analyzed above. It strongly endorses Martial as an apostle, carefully details his Jewish heritage, and alludes to purely musical issues. Most striking, however, is the treatment of the text in

[88] See, e.g., Guido, *Micrologus*, 2–3, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, pp. 93–102.
[89] Guido, *Micrologus*, 7–9, ed. Smits van Waesberghe, pp. 117–32.
[90] See, e.g., Crocker's motivic analysis of Notker's sequence *Agone triumphali* in *The Early Medieval Sequence*, pp. 364–66.

Example 5.9. Prosa *Arce polorum* Pa 909 fols. 198r–199v, stanza 6a



stanza 6, where Adémar places the key statement of the entire piece: God ("Arbiter") assigns the powers of binding and releasing ("soluere . . . ac retinere potestate") to Martial. Jesus gave these powers to the original twelve disciples at Matthew 18.18, and so they define the status of apostle. Adémar introduces this statement with the only melodic reference in the piece to the lower segment of the plagal range, descending through the signifying notes, D to A, on "Arbiter" (see Example 5.9). This section of the piece, therefore, stands out from the surrounding texture with its prevailing authentic modal orientation. Adémar uses this textual phrase at strategic points elsewhere in the apostolic liturgy to assert that it rightly pertains to Martial.[91]

Adémar has written a completely idiomatic sequence, both textually and musically. He explores the full range of the protus tonality, from the lower reaches of the plagal range to the top of the authentic register, and, although the melody would be classified as mode 1, he reserves the plagal register for the most important statement in the prosa text. Moreover, he artfully balances, on the one hand, tonal variety and stability by creating a bipolar tonal structure around the final, D, and the secondary tonal centre, A. On the other hand, Adémar also creates a sophisticated melody in which variety of melodic complexion combines with the unity derived from motivic associations and rhyming cadences. The whole is then meaningfully linked to the Alleluia that precedes it in the apostolic liturgy through assonance on the letter *a* and the use of its incipit.

[91] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," p. 396.

PROCESSION ON MONTJOVIS: *AVE PASTOR OPTIME*

One of the most elaborate pieces in Adémar's output is the chant *Ave pastor optime*, assigned in the rubric in Pa 909 to a procession on Montjovis.[92] It may also have occupied a position of some importance in Adémar's own mind, because he copied it out twice, once in Pa 909 as part of the apostolic Office for Martial, and again on a blank page at the end of Pa 1118, presumably to ensure its survival.[93] The significance of the piece arises from two events that took place on this hill just outside the city of Limoges, both in Adémar's lifetime, and one of which he witnessed himself. In both instances, the relics of Saint Martial, that is, his corpse, were removed by the monks from his tomb and carried to the hill. Both times, miraculous events occurred.

In November 994, a plague, now thought to be ergot, broke out in the region of Limoges. The monks removed the relics of Saint Martial from his tomb at the abbey, whereupon the victims of the plague began to be healed, and the monks transported the saint's body to Montjovis for a vigil.[94] At about this time, or only slightly after, Adémar would have been pledged to the abbey of Saint Cybard in Angoulême as a young child, and both his fraternal uncles, Adalbert and Roger, were long established at Saint Martial, the former as deacon by 991 at the latest.[95] And so, Adémar could depend on strong institutional, and in his particular case, familial memories of the event, which made a strong impression on him, as his own narration of the incident shows.

In two sermons (numbered 34 and 35 by Delisle), Adémar gives details of the illness that afflicted the populace.[96] His fullest account of the

[92] Pa 909 fols. 73v-74v, Pa 1118 fol. 248r (Edition II.10.N).

[93] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 165–67.

[94] Adémar, Sermon 37, Pa 2469 fols. 88v-89r; printed as *Sermo II*, in *PL* 141: cols. 118A-20A. For the numbering of Adémar's sermons, see Delisle, "Notice," pp. 279–83. See also Adémar, *Chronicon*, 3.35, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 157; and [Adémar], *Commemoratio abbatum*, ed. Duplès-Agier, p. 6. For commentary, see Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, 1:311–12; C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 65–66; Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 62–63; Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, pp. 27–31; Aubrun, *L'ancien diocèse*, pp. 203–4; Landes, "The Dynamics of Heresy," pp. 467–71; *idem*, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy," pp. 186–90; *idem*, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 29–31; Head, "The Judgment of God," pp. 234–35; *idem*, "The Development of the Peace of God," pp. 674–76; Devalette, *et al.*, *La peste de feu*; Frassetto, "The Writings of Ademar of Chabannes," pp. 248–55; and *idem*, "Resurrection of the Body," pp. 247–48.

[95] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 53–62.

[96] Sermon 34, Pa 2469 fols. 86v-87r (printed in part in Delisle, "Notice," p. 290); and Sermon 35, Pa 2469 fols. 87r-88r (printed as *Sermo primus* in *PL* 141: cols. 115A–18A), especially fols. 87r-v (*PL* 141: col. 115B–C).

miracles occurs, however, in Sermon 37.[97] As the tomb was opened, miraculous healing began immediately at the saint's tomb, and continued when his body was carried into the abbatial basilica. As the interior vessel of the coffin was opened, a most pleasant aroma emanated, but when the priests placed the body from the tomb into a golden coffin, an earthquake struck, terrifying the populace and threatening to destroy the basilica. In response, the monks carried the saint's body up to Montjovis, where they stood vigil the entire night, while the priests and the bishop remained praying at the tomb. The day of the translation became a permanent feast and a new church was dedicated on the site of the vigil.

As vivid as Adémar's account of the miracles of November 994 is, he himself witnessed the second occasion on which the relics of Martial were transported to Montjovis.[98] On the night of 16 November 1028, the monks of Saint Martial again removed the saint's body from its tomb, and again the earth moved, accompanied this time by a spectacular flash of light. At dawn the next day, Bishop Jordan ordered the relics to be taken to Montjovis attended by a chorus singing Psalms. There, with a large assemblage of ecclesiastics, the urban population, pilgrims and other relics brought for the occasion, the body of Martial stood vigil in preparation for the dedication of the new abbatial basilica the next day on 18 November. That night, 17–18 November, however, another miraculous flash of light appeared and all those at the vigil who were ill were cured.

It is not entirely clear to which liturgical event Adémar refers with the rubric to the processional piece *Ave pastor optime*. The translation of 994 did become a feast in the liturgical kalendar of the abbey of Saint Martial, as Adémar states in his Sermon 37, but the date of its introduction is uncertain. The earliest notice of the feast in a liturgical manuscript occurs in the kalendar of the late eleventh-century sacramentary Pa 822.[99] Further, it is not clear that a procession on Montjovis formed a regular part of the celebration of that feast. Adémar's composition of the piece, as well

[97] See above n. 94.

[98] Adémar, Sermon 40, Pa 2469 fols. 91v-92r; a portion is printed in Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, 2:482–84. See also the marginal note in Lei 8° 15, fol. 187r, printed in Delisle, "Notice," p. 318 (Holder-Egger, "Notizen," pp. 636–37 also prints it and, *ibid.*, p. 631, doubts that Adémar was the scribe) Delisle, "Notice," p. 314, and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 355, unequivocally attribute the note to Adémar. For commentary, see C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 72–74; Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche*, pp. 69–72; Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, pp. 34–35; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 199–204.

[99] Pa 822 fol. 7r, "Translatio Sancti Marcialis" to which a second hand added, "de monte Gaudii." On this manuscript, see Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, 1: no. 91 pp. 203–4; and Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, pp. 125–27.

as his conversion to the apostolicity of Martial and his creation of the apostolic liturgy in general, found its inspiration in the events surrounding the dedication of the abbatial basilica.[100] It may be that Adémar composed *Ave pastor optime*, like the Tract *Marcialem apostolum*, not to fulfil any regular liturgical need of the abbey, but to be available in the event that such a piece should ever be needed again for similar circumstances. Moreover, the processional is accompanied, in both manuscript contexts, by a processional antiphon, *O saluatoris minister*, that Adémar would appear to have composed for the same exigency.[101]

Ave pastor optime follows responsorial form, although Adémar gives no rubric to indicate its generic classification. It consists of a refrain and a verse, followed by a repetendum that reprises the second section of the refrain. Its melodic texture is extremely melismatic, a point to which I return below, in keeping with a responsorial chant. Adémar also provides no modal classification for the piece, unlike most items in this section of Pa 909. The tonal space below the final, however, is exploited in a fashion common to both modes 2 and 8: the melody jumps by fourth down from or up to the final (D–A–D or G–D–G), and it frequently moves through that fourth by motion of a second and a third (i.e., D–C–A or G–F–D). Moreover, it often moves between the notes a second below and a third above the final, either by step or by leap. In mode 8, the boundary notes of such motion would be F and B; if the B were consistently flatted to avoid the augmented fourth, the intervallic content of the chant would be identical to mode 2. Therefore, I transcribe it as mode 2 in Example 5.10.

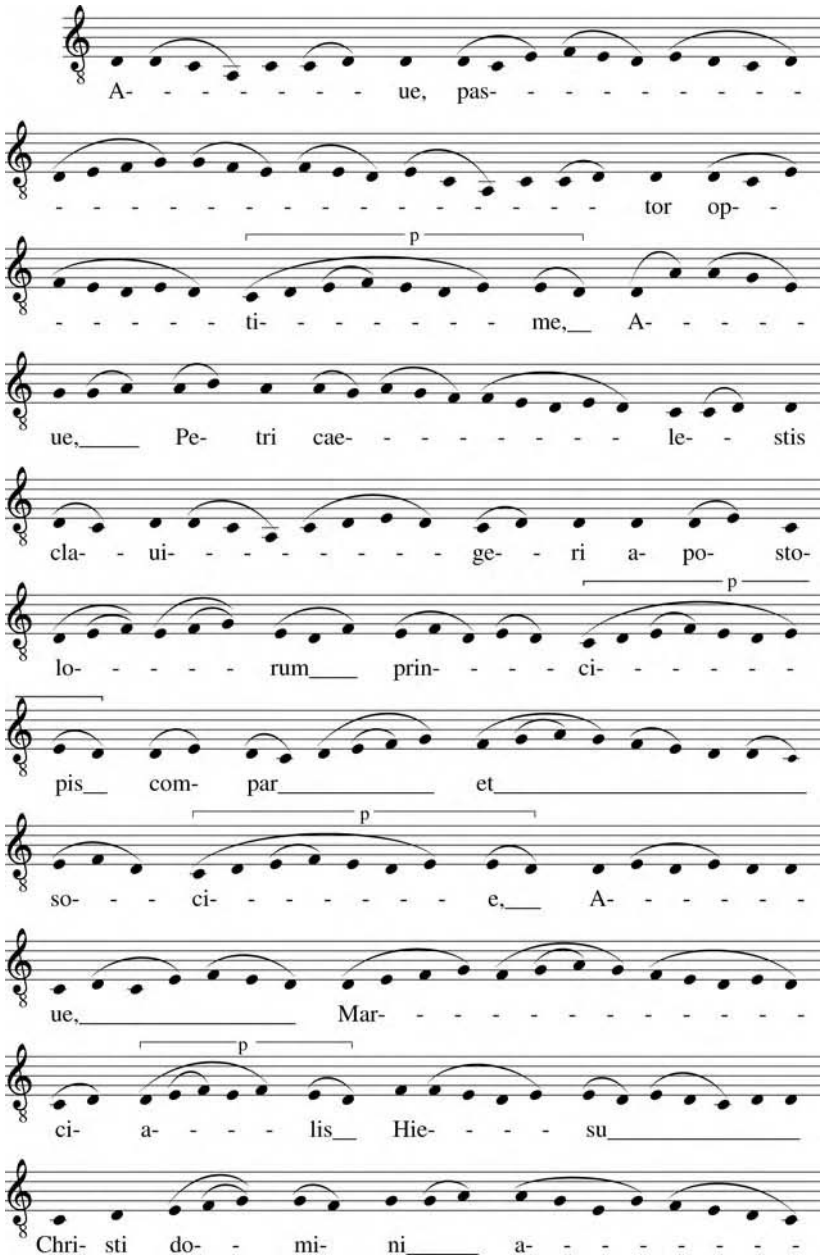
The melismatic content of this chant lies at the extreme of what is typical for responsories, usually considered among the most melismatic chant types.[102] In particular, the refrain opens and closes with exceptionally long melismata on "pastor" and "caelorum alleluia"; the latter, of course, recurs at the end of the piece to close the repetendum following the verse. The passage on "pastor" immediately sets the tone of the chant, and the concluding melismata provide a cadenza-like ending for the piece. In melismatic settings this ornate, the text tends to recede into the background as the melody becomes the central focus of the piece. Adémar

[100] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 245–46.

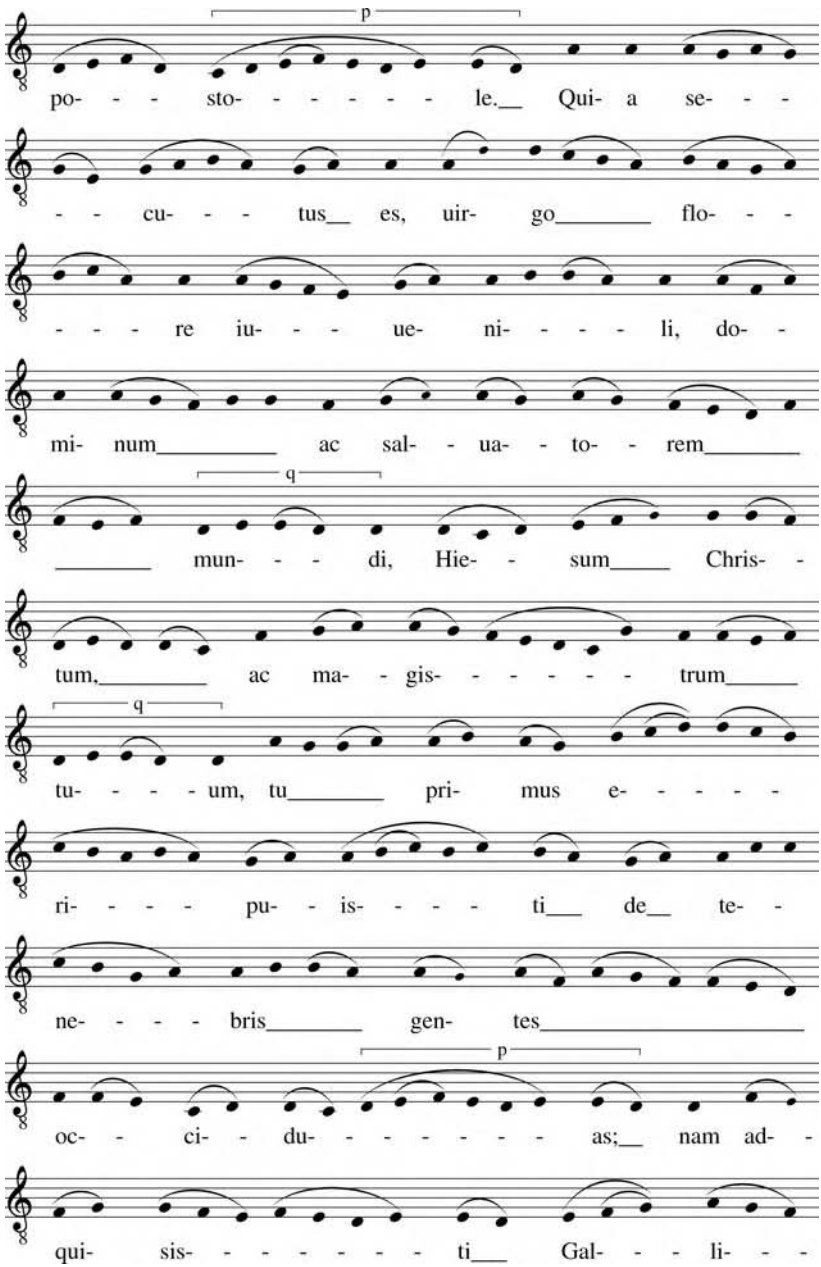
[101] Pa 909 fol. 74v, Pa 1118 fol. 248v (Edition II.10.O); it also appears, in Adémar's hand above an erasure, at Pa 909 fol. 251r.

[102] See my analysis of two responsories composed by Adémar, *Gloriosus est* and the opening of *O sancte dei apostole*: Grier, "The Music is the Message II."

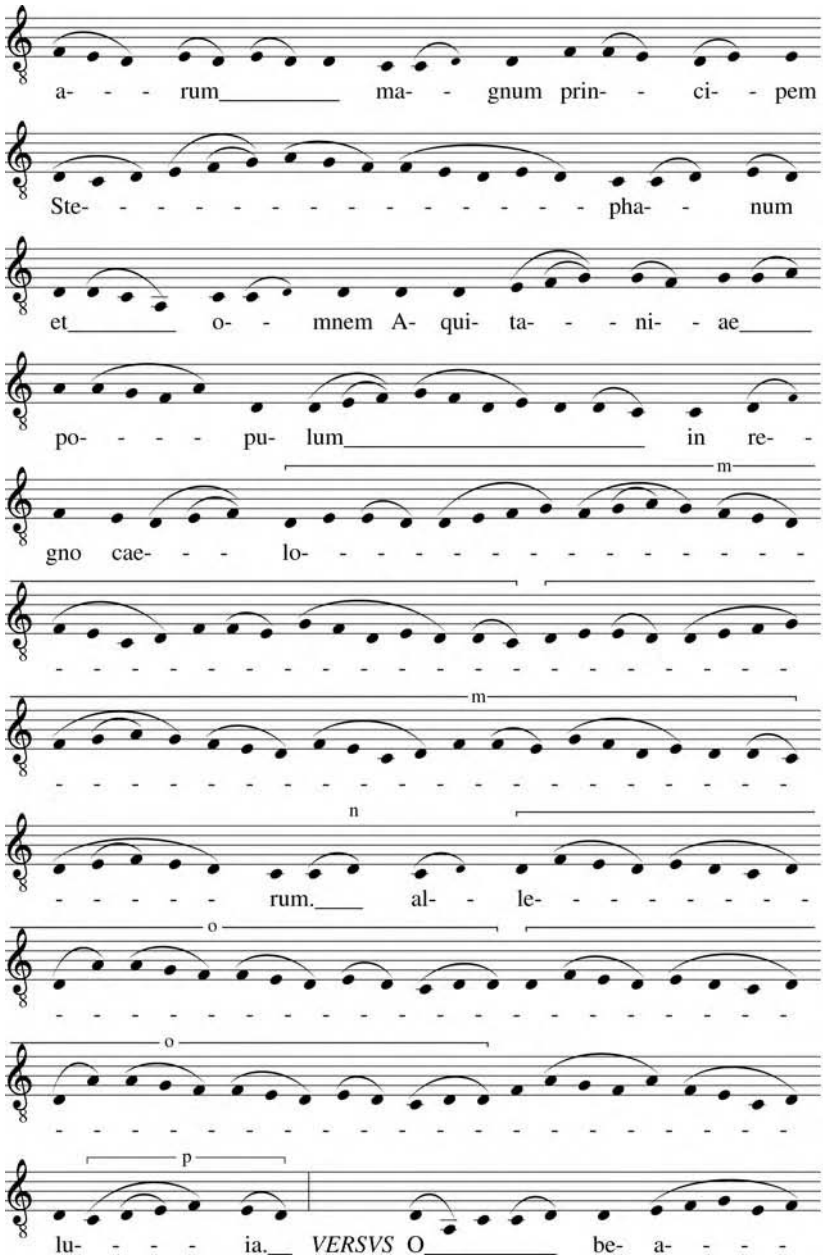
Example 5.10. Processional *Ave pastor optime* Pa 909 fols. 73v–74v



Example 5.10. (*cont.*)



Example 5.10. (*cont.*)



Example 5.10. (*cont.*)

te___ de- - i a- pos- - - - - - - - - - to- -

- - - - - - - le___ Mar- - - - - - ti- - - - -

r

- - - - - a- - - - - - - - - lis,___ in- - ter- -

- - - ce- - - - de___ pro no- - - - - - - -

bis___ ad___ re- - - - - - - gem glo- - - - -

ri- - - - - ae_____ Hie- sum___ Chri- - - -

stum, qui te_____ e- - - - - - - - -

r

le- - - - - - - - - git.___

achieves precisely the same effect in two chants he composed for the apostolic Mass for Saint Martial: the Introit trope *Christi discipulus* and the Offertory *Diligo*.[103] And his interest in the sequentia, which is generally sung without text altogether, further documents the extent to which he cultivates purely musical forms.

When the text no longer forms the principal organizing factor of the chant, as in extremely melismatic settings, musical considerations assume

[103] *Christi discipulus*: Pa 909 fol. 45r (Edition I.3.J). *Diligo*: Pa 909 fol. 71r-v (I.3.P-Q, II.9.D). See Grier, "The Music is the Message."

a greater structural role. The long passage on "caelorum alleluia" at the end of the refrain sharply demonstrates this feature. In the two longest melismata (on the penultimate syllable of "caelorum" and the antepenultimate of "alleluia"), Adémar repeats music to create structure. The first passage (marked **m** in Example 5.10) uses a cadence on the subfinal, C, to generate tonal contrast with the cadence on D at the end of the word (marked **n**). The repeated music within the second melisma (marked **o**) retains the same cadence point as at the end of the word (marked **p**), the final D, but uses a contrasting cadence type: the intermediate cadences borrow the formula typical of the sequence (as in *Arce polorum*, discussed above; here C–D–D), while the final cadence falls E–D. By situating within the individual melismata strong cadence points that articulate the repetitions, Adémar generates a purely musical structure while the text has all but disappeared from the perceptible texture of the chant.

The chant also evinces a complex, interlocking system of rhyming cadences. On the one hand, these are linked to the registral contrasts within the piece, and, on the other, highlight doctrinal associations in the text. Like many responsories, the refrain of *Ave pastor optime* exploits the entire range of the tonality, from the lower portion of the plagal range to the higher limits of the authentic range. Passages in each modal orientation remain separate, marked by distinctive cadences. The refrain opens and closes in the plagal register, and the cadence associated with this range rises by conjunct motion from either C, the subfinal, or D to F, and then falls, again in conjunct motion, to the cadence on the final, D (marked **p** in Example 5.10).

The middle of the refrain lies in the authentic range, creating contrast with the surrounding context, and employs a distinctive cadence that rises a second from D, repeats on E and falls back to the final (marked **q**). The second instance of this cadence immediately precedes the repetendum, beginning "tu primus." The ensuing passage remains in the authentic register until the cadence on "occiduas," and thereafter returns to the plagal range. This cadence is that which is associated with the plagal range, and so it heralds the return of the lower register. Moreover, the repetendum, when it recurs after the verse, provides a registral profile that contrasts with that of the entire refrain in that it begins in the authentic range and then descends to the plagal to conclude the piece.

The cadences associated with the plagal register emphasize the doctrinal issues in the text, particularly the apostolic status of Martial and his equality with Peter, "prince of apostles" ("apostolorum principis"), to whom Martial is "equal and friend" ("compar et socie"). Precisely this

sentiment occurs in Adémar's revision of a responsory from the episcopal liturgy for Martial. In the verse *Diuino quidem*, from the responsory *Beatissimus*, Adémar changes "imperiis" in the episcopal form of the text to "consiliis," thereby transforming Peter's commands into advice and asserting the equality of their status.[104] In *Ave pastor optime*, Adémar reinforces this relationship by employing identical cadences on the words "optime," "socie" and "apostole" (referring to Martial), and "principis" (Peter). A similar cadence falls on "Marcialis," completing the effect, and Adémar rounds the piece off by repeating still other variants at "occiduas" (announcing the return to the plagal register, as noted above) and "alleluia," at the end of the refrain.

The verse "O beate dei apostole" echoes the musical structure of the refrain. It too begins and ends in the plagal range, framing a central passage in the authentic register, and it employs rhyming cadences, in fact, a form of the cadence associated in the refrain with the plagal register. In the verse, however, the cadence is preceded both times by a passage that extends the sense of musical rhyme, and therefore structure (marked **r** in Example 5.10). With such means, Adémar creates a sophisticated composition that relies equally on the purely musical structure of the chant, created by the system of rhyming cadences, repeated musical phrases and registral contrasts, and the musical references used to emphasize the central doctrinal issue in the text: the apostolicity of Martial and the saint's equal status with Saint Peter. *Ave pastor optime* is a fitting accompaniment to the kind of liturgical action that would occur when the relics of the apostle Martial were carried in splendid procession on the summit of Montjovis.

MELODIC REVISION: *PRINCIPES POPULORUM* AND *ALLELVIA ℣ BEATI OCULI*

Finally, the erasures left behind in the untroped apostolic Mass for Saint Martial afford us a unique glimpse into the workshop of an eleventh-century composer. Similar revisions occur in the troped Mass for Martial, as noted above, but nothing there rivals the scope of the compositional rewriting Adémar undertook in these two responsorial Mass chants.[105]

[104] Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," p. 395.

[105] On revisions in the troped Mass, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 47–50. The Gradual *Principes populorum* occurs in Pa 909 fols. 70v-71r (Edition II.9.B); *Alleluia ℣ Beati oculi*, Pa 909 fols. 71r and 178r (II.9.C). The full texts of the erased versions are printed at Edition App.B.1 and 2, respectively.

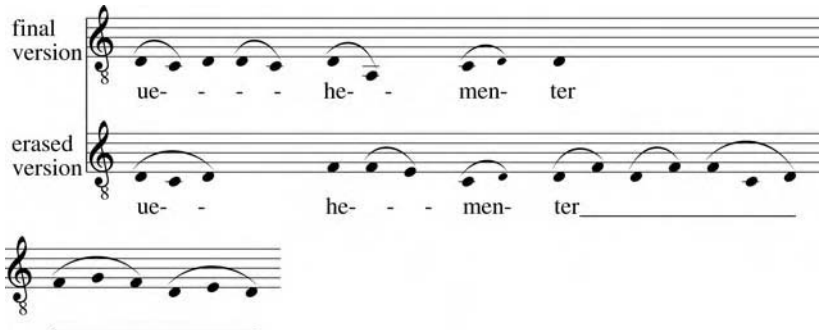
Each piece demonstrates a slightly different approach to revision. Although Adémar retains the opening of the refrain (and therefore that of the piece) in each case, from the end of the incipit he erased the remainder of the Gradual, *Principes populorum*, its verse, *Elegit dominus*, and the refrain of the Alleluia to permit a complete revision of their melodies; in the alleluiatic verse, on the other hand, he erased selectively, touching up the melody here and there, and leaving the original notation of those passages he determined to retain in the final melodic fabric. Adémar undertook a much lighter rewriting of the verse, incorporating a significant amount of his original version in the revised form, and so he erased only where necessary.

The presence of a second copy of the Alleluia in the libellus of Alleluias in Pa 909 shows that Adémar undertook these revisions at a relatively late stage in the preparation of the codex. After completing his second principal addition to Pa 909 on the current fols. 59r-85v (including the untroped Mass, in which these two responsorial chants occur), Adémar erased the Alleluias originally entered for Martial with music in his own hand in the libellus of Alleluias, fols. 177v-178r, and wrote two new ones: *Alleluia* ℣ *Marcialis apostolus* and a second copy of *Alleluia* ℣ *Beati oculi*.[106] For the latter, he entered the original version, which he subsequently erased and replaced with the revised version also found earlier in the untroped Mass. Therefore, he decided to revise the Gradual and Alleluia only after he had rewritten the libellus of Alleluia chants to include two apostolic Alleluias.

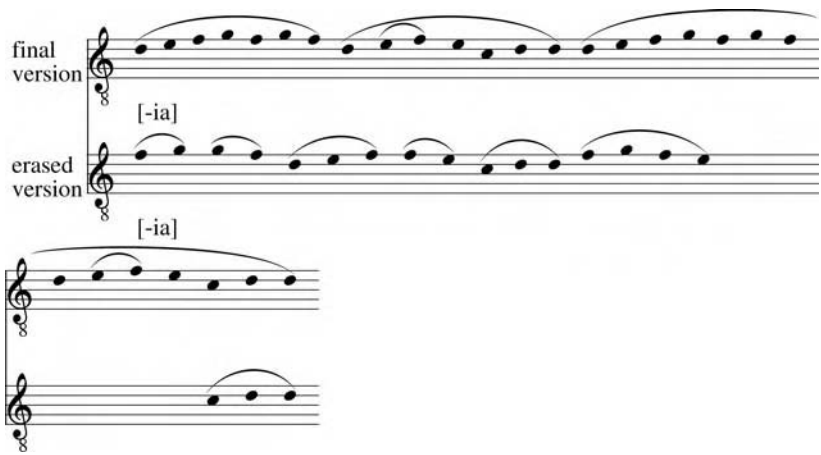
His revisions take a variety of forms. Several are quite minor, simply adjusting the connection between words or reassigning melismatic writing among syllables. Others are more substantial and affect the registral distribution of the melody, long-range melodic contours, or the melismatic complexion of the piece. For example, in the refrain of *Principes populorum*, Adémar modifies the setting of "uehementer" to revisit the lower portion of the plagal range for the first time since the opening of the chant (see Example 5.11a). Simultaneously, he eliminates the melisma on the final syllable of the word to create a crisper articulation immediately before the final phrase of the refrain. In contrast, he extends the iubilus melisma in the refrain of the Alleluia, incorporating melodic repetition as in the melismata that close the refrain of the processional *Ave pastor optime* (see Example 5.11b). And in the alleluiatic verse *Beati oculi*, Adémar rearranges the melismata in the setting of "regibus" so that the final

[106] Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 101–3 and 107–9.

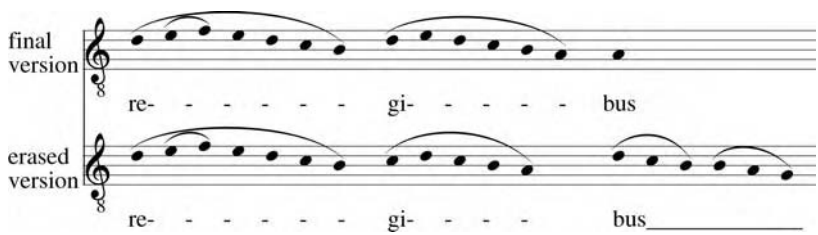
Example 5.11. (a) Gradual *Principes populorum*, refrain, Pa 909 fol. 70v



Example 5.11. (b) *Alleluia* with verse *Beati oculi*, refrain, Pa 909 fol. 71r



Example 5.11. (c) *Alleluia* with verse *Beati oculi*, verse, Pa 909 fol. 71r



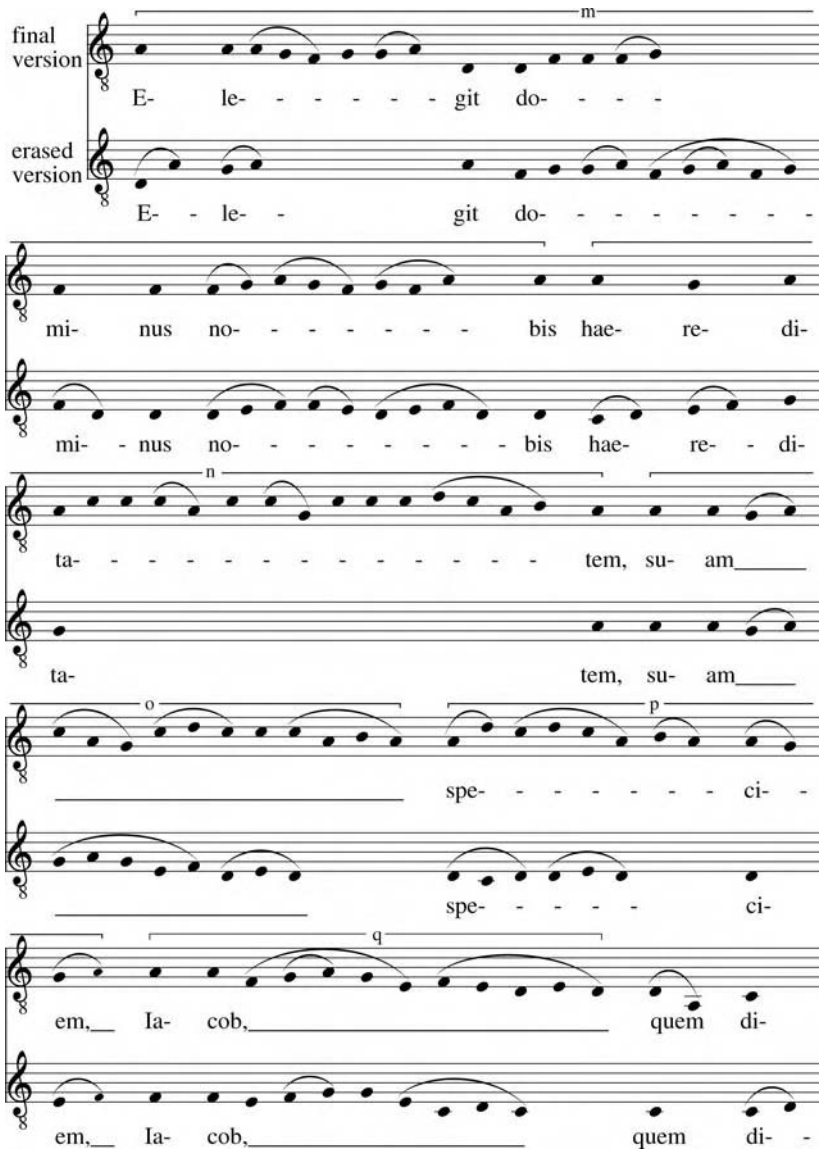
syllable is sung to a single note (see Example 5.11c). This treatment, analogous to that of "uehementer" in the Gradual, creates a slight pause at the end of the word in anticipation of the concluding phrase, "et prophetis," in place of the continuation generated by the melisma in the original version. Furthermore, that pause falls on the note A in the final version, rather than G, the final, producing some tonal variety in the cadence structure, in which most cadences throughout the piece fall on G.

In contrast with these types of revisions, the verse, *Elegit dominus*, of the Gradual *Principes populorum* is completely rewritten. Adémar restructures the melody by employing a wider range, a different melodic contour and a new distribution of melismatic writing to create a completely different effect (see Example 5.12).The original, erased version remains throughout in the higher portion of the plagal range, exhibiting a relatively restricted range, for a responsorial chant, of a sixth, C–A, within mode 2, the plagal mode in the protus tonality. Furthermore, it employs several symmetrical arches between D, the final, and A, which differ, though, in surface detail, and which find contrast towards the end of the verse with the emphasis on C, the subfinal, at the end of the setting of "Iacob," continuing with "quem" and the first note of the next word, "dilexit." This stress on C prepares the final arch, on the setting of "dilexit," which again ascends to A before returning to a cadence on D.

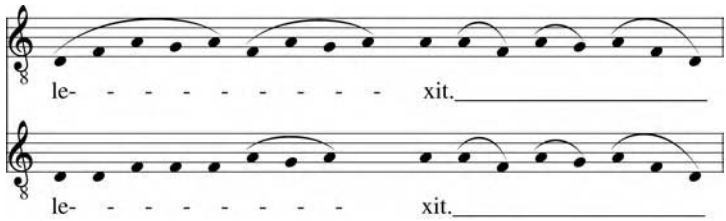
In contrast, the final version exploits the entire range of the protus tonality, both authentic and plagal, a feature already seen in the sequence *Arce polorum* and the processional *Ave pastor optime*. This revision creates a distinction between verse and refrain, in that the latter remains firmly in the plagal range. Adémar also completely rewrites the melody from the point of view of melodic contour. He composes a long-range, asymmetrical arch that begins on A, at the opening of the verse, eventually rises to D, at the top of the authentic range, and descends through the octave to the final, D, for the concluding cadence.

Many surface details contribute to the subtlety of the melodic effect. For example, the A with which the verse opens, and which is the point of departure for the arch that rises to D, is embellished with an inverted arch that descends to D and then rises back to A over the setting of "Elegit dominus nobis" (marked **m** in Example 5.12). Then Adémar cautiously explores the higher portion of the authentic register. The first two excursions, on "haereditatem" and "suam" (marked **n** and **o**) ascend to C, with D functioning as an upper neighbour. Only on the third attempt, on "speciem" (marked **p**), does the melody reach D as its primary goal, and then boldly through a direct leap of a fourth from A at the outset of

Example 5.12. Gradual *Principes populorum*, verse *Elegit dominus*, Pa 909 fols. 70v–71r



Example 5.12. (*cont.*)



the melisma on the first syllable of "speciem." The setting of "Iacob" (marked **q**) returns the melody back to the modally ambiguous portion of the range with a descent through the fifth from A to D; thence, Adémar balances the extended excursion into the higher register with a return to the lower portion of the plagal range on the relative pronoun "quem," which introduces the final textual clause of the verse, and prepares the unequivocal plagal orientation of the refrain, about to be heard again in reprise.

The verse, then, sung by the soloist, presents a marked contrast in range with the chorally rendered refrain. It forms a high point, registrally and dramatically, within the responsorial form of the Gradual. And within the verse itself, Adémar positions a climax in the highest register of the piece on the phrase "haereditatem, suam speciem" ("an inheritance, His own image," marked **n**, **o** and **p** in Example 5.12), that is, the gift God has chosen to bestow on His people. Adémar further reinforces the import of this passage with two dramatically conceived musical gestures: first, the gradual exposition of D as the melodic goal of this passage, culminating in the direct leap of a fourth at the beginning of "speciem," as discussed above; and the introduction of an entirely new melisma on the penultimate, stressed syllable of "haereditatem," the "inheritance," the gift itself. In combination thus, these three factors – wider range, revised melodic contours, and redistributed melismatic writing – transform the verse *Elegit dominus* from a mundane plagal setting into a melodically dramatic climax for the Gradual.

*

What assessments can we draw about Adémar de Chabannes, the composer? Any conclusions we reach here must be tempered by the fact that our knowledge of him and his musical output is far greater than that of any composer before Machaut. Therefore, it is difficult to place him accurately in his early eleventh-century context. Did most composers of his era produce pieces in all or most of the prevailing chant genres? Did

they employ as varied a range of compositional procedures as Adémar did? Did they commonly compose the verbal texts of the chants as well as the melodies? Were they as productive as Appendix B suggests Adémar was? In the absence of fuller documentation, the answers to these questions must remain speculative at best.

Nevertheless, if we cannot make meaningful comparisons with other musicians of his era, we can, at least, observe several features of Adémar's output that would stamp it as remarkable in any context. First, his compositions exhibit a high degree of erudition. The longer texts he composed, such as the prosa *Apostolorum gloriosa* and the devotional poem *Magna uirum*, show a thorough knowledge of classical and biblical literature, as well as an appreciation for rhetorical devices. Should we expect less of a product of monastic culture from the turn of the millennium?[107] Perhaps we should not, but the formulations in these two longer texts, if not strikingly original, do evince considerable knowledge of such topics as divination, the muses, and, in particular, musical instruments mentioned in the Old Testament, not necessarily the first areas of concern one would anticipate in a monastic culture.[108]

Adémar's erudition extends to knowledge of music theory and practice. His compositions demonstrate a complete mastery of the medieval modal and tonal systems. Again, we ought not to be surprised at this in one who spent a significant part of his waking hours daily in the communal celebration of the liturgy. Adémar's expertise, however, went well beyond that of the average choir monk. He inscribed the music in two tonaries, Pa 1121 fols. 202r-206v and Pa 909 fols. 251r-257v, for which task he would have needed to know not only the melodies of a large number of chants, but also their generic and modal disposition. Elsewhere, he displays complete familiarity with the technical vocabulary of contemporary music theory.[109] Moreover, the melody of the sequence *Arce polorum* indicates that he was familiar with the concept, presented by Guido d'Arezzo in the *Micrologus*, that the identity of a pitch depends on the surrounding intervals. Knowledge of musical theory and practice does not guarantee creative success, but it does provide the tools on which such success can be built.

[107] On Adémar's education, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 82–101. On monastic education in general, see Riché, *Les écoles et l'enseignement*, pp. 187–284.

[108] For a similar display of classical learning in a twelfth-century lyric poem from Aquitaine, see Grier, "A New Voice," pp. 1052–54.

[109] Tonaries: Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 101 and 103; and "The Musical Autographs," p. 149. Technical terms in music theory: "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," pp. 54–55.

And I would argue his free compositions, such as those discussed above, move beyond erudition to sophisticated musical expression. Adémar's skilful application of tonal tension, registral contrasts, repetition (both literal and varied), and his judicious use of melismatic writing all combine to create a melodic vocabulary that sustains long-range dramatic effects. It is precisely this kind of drama that Adémar was seeking in his complete revision of the verse *Elegit dominus* in the Gradual *Principes populorum.* Moreover, his original compositions also demonstrate that Adémar valued purely musical structures, separate from the verbal text. We have already considered his interest in the sequentia (the untexted sequence), but the musical structures he developed in the melismatic portions of the processional *Ave pastor optime* and the refrain of the *Alleluia* ℣ *Beati oculi* show that he was prepared to permit the music to assume preeminence. These considerations have important ramifications in the next chapter, where I present the evidence for his activity as a singer. Even if Adémar has no immediate peers for direct comparison, his musical compositions attest an accomplished and creative compositional mind.

CHAPTER 6

Singer

There is no direct evidence that Adémar performed as a singer at either the abbey of Saint Cybard or Saint Martial. Nevertheless, as in the case for identifying him as a composer, there is strong circumstantial evidence that he regularly sang the liturgy and perhaps even performed as a soloist. That evidence comes from a variety of sources, some pertinent to Adémar's status as a Benedictine monk and as a music scribe, others, from the literary and musical sources he himself left behind, more specific to Adémar as an individual. The picture that emerges is of a skilled musician who enjoyed intimate familiarity with the musical repertories practised at Saint Martial and Saint Cybard, who knew both the chants and the music theory that helped to organize them in the minds of those who sang them; in short, someone who had at least some claim to be both *musicus* and *cantor*.[1]

The surest and quickest way for someone in Adémar's position to obtain the level of musical knowledge he evinces would be through singing in the liturgy, first as a choir monk and then perhaps as a soloist. A non-singer who observed the liturgy and participated to the extent he was able could absorb a certain amount about the repertories, and could certainly read some of the available treatises in music theory that explain the underlying principles. The intimacy that Adémar exhibits, however, strongly suggests a much closer involvement with the liturgy and its music than is adumbrated in the previous statement. Only someone who was singing the liturgy on a daily basis, I believe, could execute not only the

[1] Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1.34, ed. Friedlein, pp. 223–25, defines the term *musicus*, and makes a clear distinction between one who contemplates music (the *musicus*) and one who practises it without using the term *cantor*. Isidore, *Etymologiae* 3.20.7, 22.9, 22.14, ed. Lindsay, uses the term *musicus* in much the same way as Boethius; *idem*, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.12, ed. Lawson, pp. 71–72, identifies the *cantor* as a performer. Aurelian, *Music disciplina* 7, ed. Gushee, pp. 77–78, distinguishes the two terms. In general, see Gurlitt, *Zur Bedeutsgeschichte*; and Hüschen, "Berufsbewusstsein und Selbstverständnis."

kind of scribal and editorial tasks described in Chapters 2 and 4 above but also the original compositions discussed in Chapter 5.

The evidence marshalled here first considers the kind of activities in which Adémar would have participated as a Benedictine monk, and the background that would have been required of someone entrusted with the inscription of musical notation in a musico-liturgical book. The second type of evidence relates directly to Adémar himself. In this category are passages in his writings that reveal considerably more than a passing knowledge of the plainsong repertories as well as the practical issues involved in performing them and some of the theoretical underpinnings that support that practice. Also in this category are the musical manuscripts with notation in his autograph hand, which show the contributions he made to the development of musical notation, the melodic revisions he introduced and his creative output as a composer.

One further issue arises from these musical manuscripts, and that is Adémar's obvious enthusiasm for extraordinarily melismatic textures. Several of his most significant original compositions exhibit this type of writing, but perhaps even more important is his strong personal interest in the untexted or partially texted sequence, or sequentia. It is most likely that these types of pieces, the melismatic compositions and the sequentiae, would be of particular interest to a person who was closely involved with them as a singer. Together, these types of evidence combine to form a picture of a person who had achieved considerable expertise in the practice of performing the liturgical repertories of chant.

BENEDICTINE MONASTICISM AND SINGING

It is clear from Chapter 63 of the Benedictine Rule that all monks are expected to participate in the performance of liturgical song.[2] This passage helps to explicate the vague expression of Chapters 8–20 of the Rule, which prescribes the organization of the liturgy.[3] In every case where the Rule calls for an item to be sung, the verb (*dico*, *decanto*, *canto*, *cano* or *psallo*) occurs in the passive voice, with no agent being expressed. The one

[2] "Ergo secundum ordines quos constituerit uel quos habuerint ipsi fratres sic accedant ad pacem, ad communionem, ad psalmum inponendum, in choro standum" ("Therefore, according to the orders that he [the abbot] would have established or they would have held, let the brothers themselves approach the [kiss of] peace, communion, the intoning of the Psalm, and standing in the choir"), Benedict, *Regula* 63.4, ed. Vogüé and Neufville, 2:644.

[3] Benedict, *Regula* 8–20, ed. Vogüé and Neufville, 2:508–38.

exception to this pattern falls in Chapter 9, where the "cantor" ("he who sings" ["qui cantat"]) is required to sing the Lesser Doxology at the end of the final responsory in each nocturn of Matins.[4] I do not believe that this passage refers to a monk who holds the office of cantor, but rather, in a more general sense, to the monk who has been given this particular assignment. Otherwise, this central passage on the Benedictine liturgy is silent on the matter of who does the actual singing.

The explication that Chapter 63 provides for the passage in Chapters 8–20, however, receives its own clarification in Chapter 47, where the author states that those who do not possess a good voice should not sing in the liturgy.

Psalmos autem uel antefanas post abbatem ordine suo quibus iussum fuerit inponant. Cantare autem et legere non praesumat nisi qui potest ipsud officium implere ut aedificentur audientes.[5]

(Let those to whom it has been ordered intone the Psalms or antiphons after the abbot in their own order. Moreover, let no one presume to sing and to read unless he is able to fulfil the task so that his listeners would be edified).

The passage is framed in the negative, but it is easy to extrapolate the complementary, positive sense implied by the statement: that all must participate in the liturgy to the extent of their ability; those with greater musical accomplishment would be asked to sing more, and those who are less able would sing less, and perhaps not at all. Under these regulations, then, one would assume that Adémar, like all Benedictines, would have been called upon to sing, and that the degree of his participation in the musical activities of the abbey depended on the level of his skill.

Adémar's status as a music scribe and contributor to the production of liturgical books in the scriptorium of Saint Martial also marks him as one who was recognized for his musical ability. Margot Fassler, in her seminal article on the monastic cantor, points out that the production and maintenance of noted liturgical books became increasingly important as the performance of the liturgy came to depend on them, and the offices of

[4] "Post tertiam uero lectionem, qui cantat dicat gloriam. Quam dum incipit cantor dicere, mox omnes de sedilia sua surgant" ("But after the third reading, let him who sings perform the 'Gloria.' And while the cantor begins to sing it, soon let everyone rise from his seat"), Benedict, *Regula* 9.6–7, ed. Vogüé and Neufville, 2:510.

[5] Benedict, *Regula* 47.2–3, ed. Vogüé and Neufville, 2:596–98. See also Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor," pp. 30–31. The passage in Chapter 47 echoes and supplements a similar one in Chapter 38: "Fratres autem non per ordinem legant aut cantent, sed qui aedificant audientes" ("Let the brothers, moreover, not read or sing in order, but [only] those who edify their listeners"), Benedict, *Regula* 38.12, ed. Vogüé and Neufville, 2:576.

cantor and armarius were reorganized to accommodate this need.[6] The fact that Adémar was invited to contribute the musical notation to Pa 1121 during a visit to Saint Martial from Angoulême attests the regard in which his musical abilities were held by his uncle Roger's colleagues. His success in providing accurately heighted musical notation in that manuscript, I would argue, led directly to his being requested to resume work as a music scribe on his return to Limoges in mid-1028, this time on Pa 909, the commission for the abbey of Saint Martin in Limoges.

These two points alone strongly suggest that Adémar would have been a valued member of the musical community at both Saint Cybard and Saint Martial. And at some level, determined by his singing ability, he would have participated in the performance of liturgical chant at both houses. The evidence collected below, I would propose, indicates that Adémar may well have taken a leading role in the musical life of the monasteries as a soloist. Moreover, I would suggest that he reserved for himself a couple of items in the apostolic liturgy that required solo singing, and this hypothesis leads me, in turn, to speculate about the nature of his voice.

MUSIC IN ADÉMAR'S LITERARY WORKS

Several passages in Adémar's literary works exhibit detailed knowledge of the repertories of liturgical music, while one passage in particular gives telling information about Adémar's familiarity with the technical vocabulary of contemporary music theory. To take the last first, Adémar interpolates into book 2 of his *Chronicon* an account of the debate between the Frankish and Roman cantors at the papal curia in Rome during a visit paid to Pope Adrian I in 787 by the Frankish king Charlemagne. In the process, Adémar notes that the Frankish singers, who were required by Charlemagne to learn the Roman style of singing, encountered difficulty in negotiating the performing nuances of the Romans.

Correcti sunt ergo antiphonarii Francorum quos unusquisque pro arbitrio suo viciaverat vel addens vel minuens, et omnes Franciae cantores didicerunt notam romanam, quam nunc vocant notam franciscam, excepto quod tremulas vel vinnolas sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere Franci, naturali voce barbarica, frangentes in gutture voces potius quam exprimentes.[7]

[6] Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor," pp. 46–51.

[7] Adémar, *Chronicon* 2.8, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 89–90. Book 2 of the *Chronicon* is based on the Royal Frankish Annals, into which this passage is interpolated. See Lair, *Historia*, pp. 46–74; Landes,

(The antiphoners of the Franks, therefore, were corrected, which everyone, from his own judgement, had corrupted, either adding or suppressing, and all the cantors of the Frankish kingdom learned the Roman notation, which they now call Frankish notation, with the exception that the Franks could not perfectly express the tremulous or the sinuous notes, or the notes that are to be elided or separated, breaking the notes in the throat, with a natural barbaric voice, rather than expressing them.)

The phrase "tremulas vel vinnolas sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces," referring to the manner of performance, employs at least two technical terms used by earlier or contemporary music theorists. The adjective *tremulus* occurs frequently in Latin, but is used by many writers of music theory, including Aurelian of Réôme, Hucbald and Guido d'Arezzo, to indicate the musical effect denoted by the *quilisma*. *Vinnolus*, in a post-classical context, is a technical term found only in writings about music, and seems to indicate an ornamental turn. Aurelian uses the term too, as do Pseudo-Odo in his *De musica* and Remigius of Auxerre in his commentary on Martianus Capella; Aurelian and the *De musica* incorporate a definition borrowed from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville.[8] The adjectives *collisibilis* and *secabilis* appear to be inventions of Adémar's.

Adémar may or may not have had access to the text of Aurelian or any of the authors named above. (Guido stands as the exception: he was an exact contemporary of Adémar's, and so we can suppose that his writings had not travelled across the Alps by the time Adémar was composing his *Chronicon*.) The post-classical usage of *uinnolus* strongly suggests that he could only have learned it from a musical source, Isidore in all likelihood. Nevertheless, the key issue here is not so much whether he borrowed these terms from his knowledge of the technical writings of music theory, but rather that he is attempting to convey to his readership sounding, non-verbal musical phenomena in language. And he has been forced to coin two apparent neologisms, *collisibilis* and *secabilis*, to help him achieve this goal.

I would infer from Adémar's use of language that he was writing from the vantage point of either an extremely sensitive listener, closely attuned to the performing nuances of liturgical chant, or, as I prefer, a practitioner himself, who had attempted to "express" the nuances, rather than "breaking [them] in the throat, with a natural barbaric voice." The attempt to

Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits, pp. 172–74; and Adémar, *Chronicon*, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. LXIII–LXV; and Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," especially pp. 46–61.

[8] Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," p. 54.

describe these mannerisms of performance verbally implies intimate knowledge of those techniques. Simultaneously, the list of terms he used, consisting equally in technical vocabulary from the realm of music theory and new inventions, reveals a resourceful mode of communicating their effects.

In contrast to book 2 of the *Chronicon*, book 3 is largely of original composition. On three occasions in this book, Adémar describes the music that formed part of specific liturgical ceremonies. Two of these give no exceptional details: the reception of the newly consecrated Bishop Gerald of Limoges by the monks of Saint Martial in Limoges in 1014, and the arrival of Count William of Angoulême back home in 1027 after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[9] The third, however, provides some interesting information about Mass chants. In 1016, the monks of the monastery of Saint John in Angély discovered a skull that they claimed to be that of John the Baptist, patron saint of their abbey. The story clearly fascinated Adémar, since he recounts it twice in different versions of his *Chronicon*.[10] In both, he describes how clergy from all over Aquitaine, many bringing with them their most important relics, attended the festivities that marked the discovery of this new and most important, if utterly fraudulent, relic.[11]

In his second version of these events, he gives this account of the music sung at Mass.

Exieruntque eis obviam monachi cum omni plebe foris miliario uno, et cum apparatu honorifico, diem festum agentes, antiphonas excelsa voce intonantes, deduxerunt eos usque ad altare Salvatoris. . . . At canonici Sancti Stephani cum monachis Sancti Marcialis alternatim tropos ac laudes cecinerunt festivo more.[12]

(And the monks went outdoors to meet them with all the people, roughly a thousand in number, and with the honorific apparatus, celebrating the feast, intoning the antiphons with elevated voice, they led them all the way to the altar of the Saviour. . . . And indeed the canons of Saint Stephen with the monks of Saint Martial sang alternately tropes and praises in the festive custom.)

The clergy from Limoges, specifically the canons of the cathedral and monks from the abbey of Saint Martial, participate in the ceremony by singing "tropes and praises," which, as we learn from Adémar's interpolation into

[9] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.49 and 65, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 169 and 185, respectively.

[10] Adémar, *Chronicon* α.C and 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, pp. 13–14 and 175–77, respectively. See also Landes, "Autour d'Adémar," pp. 35–36; and *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 47–49.

[11] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 175, distances himself from the relic, "quod sanctum caput dicunt esse proprium Baptistae Johannis" ("which they say is the holy and proper head of John the Baptist").

[12] Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.56, ed. Bourgain *et al.*, p. 176.

the biography of Pope Adrian II in the *Liber pontificalis*, discussed below, mean tropes for the Introit and Gloria, respectively. Adémar calls the latter *laudes*, by which Gloria tropes were identified widely in Aquitaine and elsewhere, particularly in the rubrics of liturgical books.[13] I would suggest that Adémar's use of the two terms, "tropes and praises," amounts to technical terminology for these two liturgical genres.

That use is reinforced by Adémar's interpolation into the *Liber pontificalis* just mentioned. Here, he enumerates some of the liturgical genres the pontiff encouraged.

Hic constituit per monasteria ad missam maiorem in sollempnitatibus praecipuis non solum in himno angelico "Gloria in excelsis deo" canere himnos interstinctos quos laudes appellant, uerum etiam in psalmis dauiticis quos introitus dicunt interserta cantica decantare quae romani festiuas laudes, franci tropos appellant, quod interpretatur figurata ornamenta in laudibus dei. Melodias quoque ante euangelium concinendas tradidit, quas dicunt sequentias, quia sequitur eas euangelium.[14]

(Adrian II established that in the monasteries at the greater Mass on special solemnities not only would the interpolated hymns, which they call praises, be sung in the angelic hymn Gloria in excelsis Deo, but also that in the Psalms of David, which they call Introits, interspersed songs, which the Romans call festive praises, and which the Franks call tropes, would be sung, which is understood to be the figured ornaments in the praises of God. He also proposed that melodies be sung before the gospel, which they call sequences since the gospel follows them.)

He names Gloria tropes, again called *laudes*, Introit tropes and sequences, by which I understand the untexted variety because he characterizes them as "melodies" ("melodias"). In contrast, he uses the terms "himnos" for the Gloria tropes and "cantica" for the Introit tropes, both of which suggest they are texted. His use of these technical terms is designed, I believe, to give authority to this account of Adrian's musical activities. The narrative leaves no doubt as to which liturgical genres the pontiff embraced.

[13] On the term, see Gautier, *Les tropes*, pp. 51–52, 252 n. 1; Chailley, *L'école*, p. 213; Odelman, "Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes?" pp. 22–23; and Falconer, *Some Early Tropes*, p. 23. For a survey of the rubrics in a large number of tropers, see Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria*, pp. 20–52; and Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes*, 2:264–316. The term is conspicuously absent from the earliest Saint Gall sources: main series of tropes, SG 484, pp. 214–34; SG 381, pp. 297–307; reproduced in Arlt and Rankin, eds., *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, vols. 2 and 3, respectively.

[14] Pa 2400 fol. 151r; printed as Adémar, interpolation in biography of Adrian II, *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 1: p. CLXXXIIb n. 1. See Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," pp. 56 and 83–84.

Adémar employs virtually the same language in his account of the Council of Limoges in 1031. First, he offers an etymology for the term "trope."

Inter laudes autem, quae tropi greco nomine dicuntur a conuersione uulgaris modulationis, dum uersus sanctae Trintitatis a cantoribus exclamaretur . . . .[15]

(Among the praises, moreover, that are called tropes by the Greek term from the conversion of the common measure, while the verse of the holy trinity was being exclaimed by the cantors . . . .)

He then describes the Gloria tropes.

Angelico interea himno cum tropis, id est festiuis laudibus, ornatissime expleto . . . .[16]

(Meanwhile, the angelic hymn was filled out with tropes, that is, the festive praises . . . .)

Again, Adémar's accounts suggest intimate knowledge of the genres of liturgical chant, and his explanations in the Council proceedings even hint at pedantry: he introduces the etymology of "trope" with the phrase "quae . . . dicuntur" ("that are called"), and later he gives a scholarly expansion of the phrase "tropes," "id est festiuis laudibus" ("that is, festive praises"). Adémar apparently assumes his anticipated audience for the Council proceedings to be ignorant of such technical matters regarding liturgical music, and therefore to require methodical explication.[17]

Moreover, the language of both the interpolation into the *Liber pontificalis* and the Council proceedings echoes that of the canon of the Council of Meaux, mentioned above in Chapter 5, which specifically censures Gloria tropes and texted sequences or prosae.

. . . ut nullus clericorum, nullus monachorum in ymno angelico, id est Gloria in excelsis deo, et in sequentiis, quae in alleluia sollempniter decantari solent, quaslibet compositiones, quas prosas vocant, vel ullas fictiones addere, interponere, recitare, submurmurare aut decantare presumant.[18]

(. . . so that no one of the clerics and no one of the monks would presume to add, interpose, recite, murmur in secret or sing any compositions, which they call prosae, in the sequences, which are accustomed to be sung in the Alleluia, or any false inventions in the angelic hymn, that is, the Gloria in excelsis deo.)

[15] Pa 2469 fol. 104v; [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, col. 1377D.
[16] Pa 2469 fol. 104v; [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, cols. 1377D–78A.
[17] Gautier, *Les tropes*, pp. 253–54.
[18] Hartmann, ed., *MGH*, *Leges* 4, *Concilia* 3:129. I silently expand *e* with cedilla in this edition to *ae*.

I take the injunction to fall in chiastic order; that is, clerics and monks are prohibited from adding "any false confections" ("ullas fictiones") to the Gloria, and from adding texts, "which they call prosae" ("quas prosas vocant"), to the sequences. My conclusion, from the last point, is that the author of the canon did not object to untexted sequences but rather to their texted form. Is it simple coincidence that Adémar, in his interpolation into the *Liber pontificalis*, attributes approval of both genres, the Gloria trope and the untexted sequence (the former banned by the canon, the latter at least implicitly permitted), to Adrian II?

In any case, Adémar exercises considerable care in naming the liturgical genres by their technical terms in these three texts, the account of the Mass at the abbey of Saint Jean d'Angély in book 3 of his *Chronicon*, the interpolation into the *Liber pontificalis* and the Council proceedings of 1031. I would attribute this care, and the detail with which he explains the nature of these genres in the Council proceedings, to a combination of intimate knowledge of the material and a need to communicate that knowledge to his readers, either for their edification or to lend his narratives greater authority. The source of this technical knowledge was most likely Adémar's personal involvement with these genres as a singer.

ADÉMAR AS MUSIC SCRIBE AND EDITOR

The detailed evidence regarding Adémar's activities in these areas appears in Chapters 2 and 4 above. Here, I summarize the findings presented in those chapters and relate them to Adémar's possible role as a monastic singer. His contributions to the development of musical notation at Saint Martial and in Aquitaine establish him as a skilled music scribe and, indeed, a technological innovator. The techniques he refined for the inscription of musical notation indicate, however, that practical considerations superseded all other concerns. In other words, Adémar strove to make his musical notation increasingly useful to practising musicians who confronted these repertories first with the need to learn them and then under the obligation to incorporate them into the ongoing celebration of the liturgy.

Starting with his innovative use of heighting to indicate accurate intervallic relationships between notes, the chief characteristics of Adémar's musical notation all contribute to its communicating the musical fabric of the melodies it records as transparently as possible. Adémar provides strong visual information to reinforce the singers' oral/aural memory of the chants. Singers using Adémar's neumations rely on its accurate heighting to bolster their recollection of the intervallic content of

the melody. Earlier Aquitanian notation, in contrast, conveyed only melodic direction, at least within the neume group; singers had to depend on their memory for relative pitch relations. As a complement to this notational feature, Adémar confirms the relative pitch content of the two liquescent neumes, the *cephalicus* and *epiphonus*, by extending the stroke of each to the height that corresponds to the pitch of the second note. Still, Adémar's notation does not permit reading at sight as it makes no provision for absolute pitch reference.

Two other characteristics of Adémar's notation also contribute to enhancing the visual communication of musical information. Adémar uses the *oriscus* to distinguish consecutive notes of the same pitch from adjacent and non-consecutive notes of the same pitch. As I discuss in Chapter 2 above (see Example 2.3), the Aquitanian convention of using vertical space to denote descending motion can result in the horizontal alignment of several notes at the same pitch that do not occur immediately consecutively. In such cases, Adémar reserves the *oriscus* for those pitches that are immediately successive, and writes the others as *puncta*. The *oriscus*, then, provides a strong visual cue for consecutive notes at the same pitch where several non-consecutive notes of the same pitch occur in close proximity.

A similarly systematic method informs Adémar's approach to the neumation of untexted sequences, the sequentiae. Again, as I show in Chapter 2 above (see Examples 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7), Adémar adopts the word divisions in the texted versions of the sequences, the prosae, as an underlying principle for the neume groupings that he imposes in the untexted versions. Discrete groups of neumes tend to correspond to discrete words or groups of words. The execution of this principle, I believe, provides a visual reference for those singers who were learning the sequentia or using the neumation as a reference and already knew the corresponding prosa. The groupings remind the singer/reader of the text and its constituent words, and thereby supply the kind of mnemonic that Notker Balbulus professed to require when he composed sequence texts to help him remember his "melodiae longissimae."[19]

All three of these features that characterize Adémar's musical notation have the appearance of solutions that arose from Adémar's own experiences as a singer. He recognized the inexactness of the Aquitanian notation of his uncle's generation, the problems it caused, especially for

[19] Notker, *Liber ymnorum*, Prooemium 2, ed. Steinen in *Notker der Dichter*, 2:8.

musical pedagogy, and the demands it placed on musical memory for the successful acquisition and reproduction of the repertories. In the face of these circumstances, Adémar drew on his scribal expertise not only in Latin script but also in Tironian notes, the stenographic system invented in the classical period and attributed to Cicero's freedman and amanuensis Tiro. It found extensive employment in the Merovingian and Carolingian chanceries, and Adémar knew and used it competently.[20] His experience with these two forms of writing, particularly the latter, showed him how literacy could contribute to the rapid and efficient communication of information.

Accordingly, Adémar combined his expertise as scribe and singer to create the imaginative solutions mentioned above. Each of these enhances the quality and accuracy of the musical information communicated visually by the notation, and each results from equal sensitivity to musical and scribal issues. Would a scribe inexperienced as a musician be aware of the ambiguities caused, for example, by the inexact heighting of the notation in Pa 1120? Only a musician, I would argue, who had experienced difficulties in creating intelligible phrase shapes out of the long, undifferentiated streams of neumes that constitute the sequentia, would match the neume groupings to the words of the corresponding prosa. In short, these aspects of Adémar's notation could only have arisen from his daily confrontation of these repertories as a singer.

One further characteristic of Adémar's scribal activity attests his practical experience with the performance of liturgical song, and that is his application of liquescence. Above in Chapters 2 and 4, I demonstrate that Adémar's use of this technique is independent of the practice observed in his exemplar Pa 1120, and sometimes varies between the two neumations he created in Pa 1121 and 909. My explanation for this set of circumstances is that Adémar, like all Aquitanian scribes, sings or otherwise imagines the chant, to himself or aloud, while copying it, and applies liquescence in accordance with the needs of that performance or reconstruction *ex tempore*. Each neumation, then, including the two Adémar created in Pa 1121 and 909, carries its own imprint derived from the manner of performance imagined at the time of the inscription. This hypothesis explains the idiosyncratic application of liquescence in Aquitanian

[20] On Tironian notes in general, see Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and *Nota Romana*," pp. 64–65, especially n. 66. On Adémar's knowledge and use of the system, see Delisle, "Notice," pp. 244–45, 278; Lair, *Historia*, p. 279; Molhuijsen, "Die Tironiana der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Leiden," pp. 164–65; and Vezin, "Un nouveau manuscrit," p. 50.

witnesses and it provides more evidence of Adémar's personal involvement with the repertories of chant as a singer.

The nature of the copying Adémar executed in Pa 1121 and 909 further establishes his intimate knowledge of the chant repertories. His exemplar for the Mass chants, Pa 1120, is not accurately heighted, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, and so the pitch information he inscribed in Pa 1121 derived from his personal knowledge of the melodies. A scribe familiar with Aquitanian notational conventions but lacking firm understanding of the chants could have made a diplomatic transcription of either the irregularly heighted neumes of Pa 1120 or the accurately placed neumes in Pa 1121. Only someone who knew the melodies in great detail, however, could translate the notation of Pa 1120 into the accurate representations in Pa 1121.

The Office chants present a slightly different problem. With a few exceptions in the fragmentary Office for Martial in Pa 1240 and the Office for Valérie in Pa 1085, the pre-existing Office chants Adémar incorporated into Pa 909 did not exist at Saint Martial in a fully neumed exemplar. Therefore, he had to copy them from memory. Since we have no neumed exemplar against which to compare Adémar's versions, we do not know how accurate they are, and therefore the full extent of his knowledge of these chants. Nevertheless, the versions he produced provide a convincing representation of how tenth-century Office chants might sound, particularly from the point of view of the treatment of the modal system. Therefore, I submit that they do provide accurate neumations of the melodies.

Moreover, Adémar's written versions of the Office chants underwent a much severer test than modern scholarship can impose: they had to be convincing for the monks who were asked to sing them on 3 August and who had sung them all their lives in their episcopal form. The monks would have required some written support during their preparation for the performance, at least for those chants that Adémar had revised for their apostolic content. An exemplar that contained faulty neumations of the chants already well known to the singers would have undercut Adémar's own authority in promoting the apostolic cult. I would suggest that he passed the test, as the singers prepared and performed the apostolic liturgy throughout the day of 3 August.[21] We have no idea how successful those performances were, but we do know that Adémar's reputation as a

[21] Second Vespers at Saint Martial: Pa 5288 fol. 53ra (printed Adémar, *Epistola de apostolatu*, col. 94B). Mass at Saint Stephen: Pa 5288 fol. 52rb (printed *ibid.*, col. 92D); Pa 2469 fols. 103v-104r (printed

musician survived the débâcle of 3 August intact because elements of his apostolic liturgy appear in liturgical books produced at Saint Martial after his death in 1034.[22]

Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the neumed versions of the chants Adémar prepared for his apostolic Office for Martial accurately represented their melodies. (Chants for the Offices of Valérie, Austriclinian and Cybard do not enter into this discussion of accuracy because nearly all were newly composed by Adémar and so we cannot gauge, by them, how accurately he reproduced pre-existing melodies.) If Adémar's neumations of the Office chants for Martial, then, are indeed reliable, their accuracy could only derive from Adémar's personal knowledge of them as a singer. It is possible that he turned to someone else in the abbey's musical community for help in creating these musical inscriptions, another singer who knew the repertories intimately and sang the chants for Adémar, who then wrote them down from dictation. But the second layer of Pa 909, in which the apostolic liturgy occurs, gives every appearance of being a personal project.[23] Adémar himself executed text, notation, rubrics and the existing decoration, and so I would suggest that he did not seek a collaborator for any aspect of the manuscript's production.

Many of the editorial corrections Adémar undertook during the production of Pa 1121 and 909 could only have been achieved by a knowledgeable and experienced singer. Above in Chapters 2 and 4, I stress the importance of musical literacy in Adémar's scribal and editorial activities. A good many of the corrections he effects arose from a visual comparison of exemplar and copy, and these would not necessarily require first-hand knowledge of the repertories. Nevertheless, his memory and aural reconstruction of the melodies he was copying did permit him to introduce a number of improvements that would have been impossible or difficult through a copying process that was purely visual and mechanical.

I begin with two classes of readings that illustrate Adémar's idiosyncratic taste in variants. He introduces two types of readings that are not attested by the surviving witnesses but that seem to accord with his own preferences. In Chapter 4 above, I note that, in the tonary of Pa 909, he

[Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*, cols. 1375A–76D). See also Grier, "Liturgy and Rhetoric," pp. 388–89, and "The Music is the Message," pp. 2–3.

[22] The prosa *Arce polorum*: Pa 1138 fols. 5v-8v, Pa 1119 fols. 241v-243v, and Pa 1137 fols. 84v-86v. The sequentia *Arce polorum*: Pa 1137 fols. 47v-48r. Troped Mass: Pa 1119 fols. 54v-62v.

[23] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 248–49.

gives a *differentia* for the Psalm sung with the antiphon *Alma uirgo* different from the one recorded in Pa 1085 for this chant (see Example 4.22). In several other pieces, he adds or suppresses an *oriscus* in opposition to other sources (see Example 4.6). In both cases, Adémar might be recording variants from performances he had heard. It seems more likely, however, that he was preserving the versions of the chants he himself preferred to sing despite the written evidence. It is certainly possible that a non-singer might have an opinion about, say, the *differentia* to be sung with *Alma uirgo*, but it strikes me that the detail of adding or suppressing a repeated note is so trivial as to be of little importance to anyone other than a performer.

In other passages, errors probably revealed themselves to Adémar from his knowledge and aural recollection of the melody, which he then confirmed by reference to another witness. In strophe 6 of the sequentia *Organicis*, for example, he twice erred in copying Pa 1121, but entered the correct reading in Pa 909 (see Example 4.11). Three witnesses available to Adémar, the sequentiaries of Pa 1118 and 1084 and the proser in Pa 1120, preserve the correct readings, but he would not necessarily have been consulting them when he copied Pa 909 from Pa 1121. I propose that his knowledge of the melody triggered his suspicion that Pa 1121 was corrupt. He then placed the correct reading in Pa 909 either on the sole basis of his memory and knowledge, or as a result of corroborating his suspicions through reference to one or more of Pa 1118, 1084 and 1120.

Similarly, Adémar's version of the sequentia *Nunc exultet* in Pa 1121 makes nonsense of the structure of stanza 8 of the prosa as transmitted in Pa 1120 (see Example 4.14). Its text cannot be sung to the melody of the corresponding strophe in Pa 1121. Again, he was copying Pa 909 directly from Pa 1121 and so not likely to be consulting Pa 1120 simultaneously. Nevertheless, he may have referred to it when his recollection of the repetitive structure of the melody did not match his earlier neumation in Pa 1121. In any case, the version of strophe 8 he copied into Pa 909 does accommodate the text of the relevant section of the prosa, as Example 4.14 shows.

A slightly different situation might explain a reading in the sequentia *Rex omnipotens*. In Pa 1121, Adémar introduced some superfluous notes into strophe 12 (see Example 4.19). Both Pa 1118 and 1084, which Adémar might have been using during the production of Pa 1121, transmit the correct reading, and he may have effected the correction (which consists of a simple erasure) during the original copying process. (It is also possible, as I note above in regard to Example 4.19, that someone other than Adémar

may have made the correction.) It is more likely, I believe, that Adémar observed the error on the basis of his recollection of the melody while copying Pa 909 from Pa 1121. He might then have turned to Pa 1118 or 1084 for confirmation, copied the correct reading into Pa 909, and corrected Pa 1121 by erasing the intrusive notes.

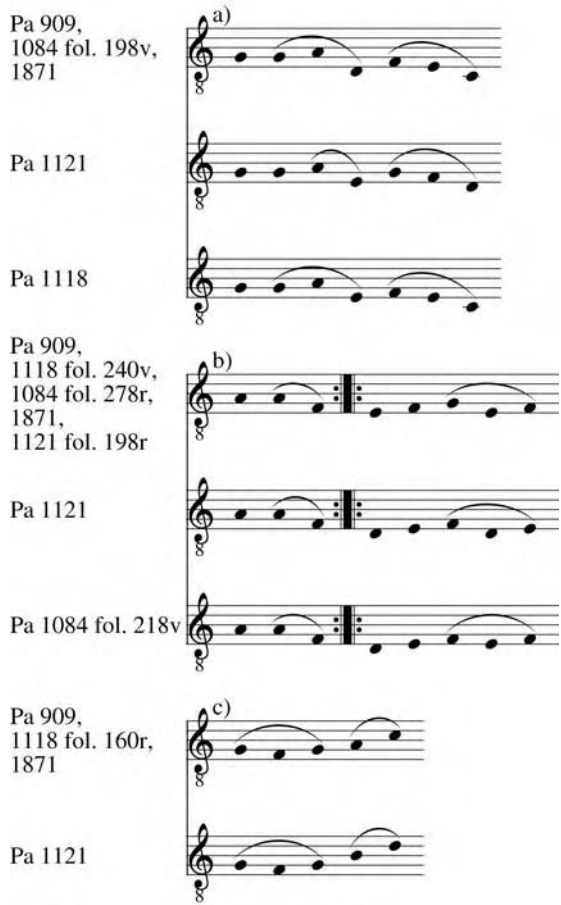
Perhaps the strongest evidence for Adémar's personal knowledge of chant occurs in those sequentiae in which an inadvertent transposition in Pa 1121 is corrected in Pa 909. These errors are extraordinarily difficult to apprehend since they invariably involve the incorrect heighting of a single note or neume, after which the balance of the neumation conforms precisely with the contours of the melody but at the wrong height. Such errors are easy enough to commit, but, without an external reference guide for absolute pitch, such as a staff or clef, they defy detection among the strings of neumes that make up the sequentiae. So, when copying Pa 909 from Pa 1121, Adémar could only have caught an error of this type through his knowledge of the melody in combination with keen powers of observation, both visual and aural.

Three examples illustrate the circumstances of both the commission and detection of such errors. (See Example 6.1.) In the first two cases, *Da camena* for John the Baptist and the dominical sequentia *Fortis atque amara*, a single note was misheighted in Pa 1121 to create the inadvertent transposition.[24] In the former, Adémar writes the second note of the *cliuis* a second too high, reading the neume A–E instead of A–D, and in the latter, the beginning of the new strophe (strophe 4), starting from the single *punctum* that begins the strophe, is written a second too low. The third example, *Rex magne deus* for Holy Innocents, involves the misheighting of the *pes* A–C a second too high in Pa 1121.[25] Although the neume consists of two disjunct symbols, a *punctum* followed by a *virga*, Adémar seems to have considered them as a unit in misplacing them. In all three passages, the reading of Pa 909 is confirmed by its agreement with the independent Pa 1871. But how did Adémar come to correct the erroneous reading in Pa 1121 when he was copying Pa 909 from it?

Adémar had at his disposal three codices that could have served as exemplars or confirming witnesses when he copied Pa 1121 and 909: the prosers and sequentiaries in Pa 1118 and 1084, and the proser in Pa 1120. Each of the sequentiae cited above presents a different pattern of readings

[24] *Da camena*, Edition IXA.15.A; *Fortis atque amara*, Edition IXA.25.A.
[25] *Rex magne deus*, Edition IXA.8.B.

Example 6.1. (a) Sequentia *Da camena* strophe 2, (b) Sequentia *Fortis atque amara* strophes 3-4, (c) Sequentia *Rex magne deus* strophe 2



among these sources, and so I consider them individually. *Rex magne deus* presents the simplest transmission: it is added in a second hand in the sequentiaries in both Pa 1118 (fol. 200r) and Pa 1084 (fol. 196v), as well as the proser of Pa 1084 (fol. 329r-v), and so we cannot know whether it was present in these witnesses when Adémar copied Pa 1121 and 909.[26] The

[26] See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:61, 63, 82 and 84 (on Pa 1084); 98 and 126 (on Pa 1118).

texted version of the sequence, however, does occur in the original layer of the prosers of Pa 1118 (fol. 160r-v) and Pa 1120 (fols. 113v-114r), to either of which, then, Adémar may have had recourse.

The last witness provides no help, as, in it, the point at which Adémar misheighted the *pes* in Pa 1121 occurs over a line ending, without benefit of a *custos* to indicate the pitch level of the new line. The version in Pa 1118, on the other hand, exhibits reasonably reliable heighting and agrees with Pa 909. I would suggest that Adémar, in copying Pa 909, noticed the error in Pa 1121 on the basis of his knowledge of the melody, difficult as it would have been to observe it at all. He may then have turned to the proser in Pa 1118 for confirmation, as that source alone, among the witnesses available to him for this sequence, provided any indication of the correct heighting.

Da camena is represented by five versions in the sources available to Adémar: the sequentiary of Pa 1118 (fol. 133r), but not its proser, twice in the sequentiary of Pa 1084 (fols. 198v-199r and 217v), the proser of Pa 1084 (fol. 298r-v), and the proser of Pa 1120 (fol. 152r-v). Both of the texted versions, in Pa 1084 and 1120, are later additions to their respective codices, and so may not have been known to Adémar.[27] Moreover, the second copy of the sequentia in Pa 1084 (fol. 217v) is so inaccurately heighted that it offers no guidance to Adémar or us. The first version of the sequentia in Pa 1084 (fols. 198v-199r), however, gives the correct reading in agreement with Pa 909, and it might have been to this witness that Adémar turned for confirmation after suspecting the presence of an error in Pa 1121.

Some indication of how Adémar committed the error of heighting in Pa 1121 occurs in the sequentiary of Pa 1118. At the *cliuis* that contains the error in Pa 1121, Pa 1118 reads A–E, in agreement with Pa 1121, but then continues at the same pitch level as Pa 909 (see Example 6.1a). It is possible that Pa 1118, or a performance based on it, influenced Adémar to write the *cliuis* A–E in Pa 1121. His recollection of the more common form of the melody, however, obliged him to retain the interval of an ascending minor third after that note, and continue at the wrong pitch level. Nevertheless, when he came to copy Pa 909, his knowledge of the melody suggested to him that Pa 1121 was corrupt; so, turning to the written versions available to him, he found that the first version in the sequentiary of Pa 1084 provided a reading that coincided with his memory.

[27] See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:63 and 78 (on Pa 1084); 180 and 189 (on Pa 1120); also *ibid.* 2:30, 114–15.

Fortis atque amara also occurs in five discrete versions among the contents of Pa 1118 and 1084: the sequentiary (fol. 143r) and proser (fols. 240v-241r) of Pa 1118, twice in the sequentiary of Pa 1084 (fols. 212r and 218v), and the proser of Pa 1084 (fol. 278r). In the sequentiary of Pa 1118 and the first version in the sequentiary of Pa 1084 (fol. 212r), the end of strophe 3, where the error occurs in Pa 1121, falls at a line end, again without *custos* in both witnesses. Both texted versions, however, in Pa 1118 and 1084, agree with Pa 909, and these may have provided for Adémar verification of the error in Pa 1121 once he had discerned it from his familiarity with the melody. Further corroboration of the reading of Pa 909 comes from the proser in Pa 1121 (fol. 198r), the notation of which, of course, Adémar inscribed. The agreement here with Pa 909 confirms Adémar's knowledge of the melody's correct pitch level.

Again, one of the sources may have facilitated the commission of error in Pa 1121, this time the second version in the sequentiary of Pa 1084 (fol. 218v). It begins strophe 4 by placing the first three notes a second too low, as in Pa 1121, but then reverts to the same pitch as Pa 909 (see Example 6.1b). This reading may have interfered, either visually or aurally, with Adémar's copying the passage into Pa 1121. His recollection of the intervallic content of the melody, however, was so strong that, once having begun at the wrong pitch, he continued to copy the melody correctly in terms of its relative pitch relations.

I dwell on these three examples of inadvertent transposition in Pa 1121 and its emendation in Pa 909 because they illustrate how accurate Adémar's recollection of the melodies must have been for him to detect the errors. In each case, a written source, either Pa 1118 or 1084, contains the correct reading, but it is unlikely that he was consulting either during the production of Pa 909. He relied on his knowledge of the melodies and his memory to identify the faulty readings in Pa 1121, and then he may have turned to the written witnesses, Pa 1118 and 1084, for confirmation before entering the correct reading in Pa 909.

In all these cases of editorial correction, the errors in question may have revealed themselves to Adémar through the knowledge of the melodies he acquired through singing them. In several of the examples, including the three instances of inadvertent transposition, sources that contain the correct readings were available, but may not have been open on Adémar's desk while he was copying Pa 1121 or 909. In the case of *Rex omnipotens*, where he effected a correction in Pa 1121 by erasing intrusive notes he had originally copied into the melody, Adémar might have been consulting one of the witnesses, Pa 1118 or 1084, while producing Pa 1121. That

circumstance alone, however, does not guarantee that they generated the correction found in Pa 1121. Adémar erred enough times in copying Pa 1121 and 909 for us to acknowledge that the presence of the correct reading in the exemplar does not ensure that the copy will retain it. In all these cases of emendation, however, Adémar may well have confirmed his suspicions of an error by referring to one of the available witnesses.

ADÉMAR AND MELISMATIC CHANT

In my opinion, the most compelling evidence for Adémar's personal involvement in the performance of the liturgy as a singer lies in his close attachment to the melismatic genres of chant, especially the sequentia. He apparently introduced that genre to the musical community at Saint Martial. Prosae had been sung at Saint Martial since some time in the tenth century, perhaps as early as the 920s or 30s if Pa 1240 was copied that early. It contains two series of prosae that supply items for the most important feasts of the liturgical year.[28] Then, during Roger's lifetime, probably during the second decade of the eleventh century, the repertory was greatly expanded in the proser of Pa 1120.[29] In that codex, however, there is no indication that the untexted form of the sequence, the sequentia, held any interest for the monks at Saint Martial, since Pa 1120, which appears in all other ways to be complete, contains no sequentiary.

Therefore, the earliest extant sequentiary from the abbey is that in Pa 1121. From the complete lack of any precedent originating at Saint Martial, I conclude that the sequentia was not in use at Saint Martial prior to the production of Pa 1121. Adémar wrote in his own hand the entirety of the sequentiary, both text and music, from which circumstance I deduce that he enjoyed full control over its production, including the selection and order of items, as well as the rubrication.[30] From this, I further conclude that the idea of incorporating a sequentiary in Pa 1121 arose from Adémar himself. Had the principal text scribe retained control over this section of the manuscript, he might have been expected to write the limited text that appears in the libellus as part of the partially texted sequences. Yet, these texts appear in Adémar's hand, too.

[28] Pa 1240 fols. 17ra-18vb, 46ra-62ra. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:51–55, 2:91–97; and "The Repertory of Proses," pp. 154a-57b.
[29] Pa 1120 fols. 106r-153v. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:182–89, 2:144–46.
[30] See Chapter 2 above and Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 135–37, 148.

The sequentiary of Pa 1121, and especially its appendix, bear an extremely close relation to the sequentiaries of Pa 1118 and 1084. A number of pieces were accessible to Adémar only from these sources, among those known to have been extant when he undertook the copying of Pa 1121. We now know that both these codices, produced around the turn of the millennium somewhere in southern Aquitaine, were present at Saint Martial by the time Adémar began work on Pa 1121 in mid-1027 or slightly later.[31] I would suggest that the abbey might have acquired them specifically because they each contained a sequentiary, and further that the acquisition might have proceeded through Adémar or at his request.

In any case, it is difficult to imagine why these two codices were deemed disposable by the houses that produced them or for which they were destined within three or four decades of their production. Liturgical books, as opposed to other types of codices, such as Bibles and theological works, do achieve obsolescence, but not as quickly, I would aver, as the history of Pa 1118 and 1084 seems to indicate.[32] The explanation for their acquisition by Saint Martial, then, may lie in the fact that the abbey required the repertories they contain, particularly the sequentia, which is not represented in earlier codices from Saint Martial. And so, Adémar, in view of his demonstrable enthusiasm for the genre, may have had a hand in acquiring them for the abbey.

Furthermore, Adémar's earliest extant experiments in original composition belong to the genre of the sequence, texted or untexted.[33] Several melodies in the sequentiary of Pa 1121 are attested by no earlier witness, and so, I attribute their composition to Adémar. Some of these appear in the fragmentary proser in the same manuscript, with music in Adémar's hand but text copied by the principal scribe of the codex. I therefore resist attributing the texted form of these sequences to Adémar, as mentioned in Chapter 5 above. He composed at least two further sequences for the feast of Saint Martial, *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa*, of which both texted and untexted forms occur in Pa 909, where they are written in Adémar's hand.[34]

Finally, Adémar wrote out the entire cycle of sequentiae for the liturgical year a second time in Pa 909. This section of the manuscript is coeval with or postdates its second layer, which presents the apostolic

[31] Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 152–53.

[32] For an overview of the rate of production of liturgical books at Saint Martial during this period and a comparison with the contemporary situation at Nevers, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 69–74.

[33] See Chapter 5 above and Grier, "The Musical Autographs," pp. 151–54.

[34] *Arce polorum*, Edition I.3.N, III.1.C, IXA.17.A; and *Apostolorum gloriosa*, Edition III.1.D, IXA.17.B.

liturgy for Saint Martial. The sequentiary also contains apostolic material, namely the sequentiae *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa* just mentioned; the first of these is also cued in the troped Mass for Martial and the second is introduced in the sequentiary with the rubric "ALIA DE SANCTO MARTIALE APOSTOLO GALLIAE."[35] Therefore, the sequentiary was produced for use at Saint Martial, like the rest of the second layer, and, consequently, duplicates the sequentiary already available in Pa 1121. Its only purpose is the inclusion of the apostolic sequentiae for Martial, which, of course, are not present in Pa 1121.

The fact that Adémar did not simply create a separate appendix for his newly composed sequentiae, as he did with their texted versions, suggests that it was important for him to integrate them into the complete liturgical cycle. The prosae *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa* appear alone between the end of the sequentiary and the Seventy-Two Verses about Saint Martial.[36] Adémar clearly felt that they did not require the context of a complete proser. In contrast, with the apostolic sequentiae he pursues precisely the same strategy as he did with the troped apostolic Mass, which appears in its correct position within the cycle of Proper tropes. He recopied the surrounding tropes for Saints Peter, Paul, Lawrence, and for Assumption to create the appropriate context for the apostolic Mass.[37] To achieve the same effect for the apostolic sequentiae, he had to copy out the entire sequentiary, an undertaking of some magnitude. Only someone with great enthusiasm for the genre would set himself this task. Further, because of the melismatic, largely textless nature of the repertory, such enthusiasm would arise from an appreciation of the musical fabric of the genre, most likely to be found in one who knew them as a singer.

Adémar's passion for melismatic genres extended beyond the sequentia. His original compositions include several pieces that exploit extraordinarily rich melismatic passages. Most noteworthy among these is *Ave pastor optime*, the processional in responsorial form to be sung at Montjovis. As discussed in Chapter 5 above (see Example 5.10), Adémar uses purely musical gestures, such as repetition, rhyming cadences and registral contrast, to create an effective dramatic structure within an extremely

[35] Cue for *Arce polorum*, Pa 909 fol. 46r; rubric for *Apostolorum gloriosa*, Pa 909 fol. 118r.

[36] The texted versions occur at Pa 909 fols. 198r-201v; the sequentiary ends at the top of fol. 198r and the Seventy-Two Verses about Saint Martial begin on fol. 202r. Another group of prosae, two older pieces for Martial (*Valde lumen* and *Alme deus*) and one for the Dedication of the cathedral of Saint Stephen in Limoges (*Nobis annua*), appears at fols. 75r-77v.

[37] Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 36–37, 65–68.

florid melodic texture. Among the Mass chants, the Introit trope *Christi discipulus* and the Offertory *Diligo* explore the limits of their respective genres in terms of melismatic writing.[38] Both pieces occur at crucial moments of the Mass, the trope at the end of the opening procession, the Offertory during the offering and the celebrant's preparation of the altar. They mark these dramatic points with effusive musical gestures.

Adémar also uses bold melodic vocabulary within the melismatic context of some of his compositions in the responsorial genres. His newly composed introduction for the responsory *O sancte dei apostole* and the responsory *Gloriosus est* (both in the third nocturn of Matins for Martial) exemplify his technique.[39] Both use energetic descending runs in conjunct motion as well as unexpected leaps to create dramatic gestures in the course of the characteristic melismatic texture of the genre. Finally, I adduce his revision of the verse *Elegit dominus* of the Gradual *Principes populorum* in the apostolic Mass for Martial, discussed in Chapter 5 above (see Example 5.12). Adémar completely rewrites the verse to achieve a dramatic climax for the Gradual. He skilfully blends melismatic writing with an exploitation of the entire range of the protus tonality and a carefully constructed asymmetrical arch to achieve this effect.

I would suggest that none of this compositional activity could have been readily undertaken by someone not intimately familiar with the stylistic characteristics of these melismatic genres. But it is not simply a matter of intimate knowledge of these genres and their styles; Adémar's original compositions reveal a devotion to the practice of melismatic writing and singing that goes beyond experience and knowledge. Adémar exhibits passion for the intricacies of florid music, a passion that could arise from listening alone but is more likely the sign of long, enthusiastic and possibly virtuosic performance of these genres in the Benedictine liturgy over a lifetime at Saint Cybard and Saint Martial.[40] It is within that context that Adémar engaged in the composition of these melismatic

[38] *Christi discipulus*, Edition I.3.J; *Diligo*, Edition II.9.D. See also Grier, "The Music is the Message."

[39] *O sancte dei apostole*, Edition II.2.3.G; *Gloriosus est*, Edition II.2.3.F. See also Grier, "The Music is the Message II."

[40] Saint Augustine exudes a great deal of enthusiasm for singing without text, to which he was responding apparently as a listener; see *Confessions* 10.33, ed. Verheijen, pp. 181–82; and *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ad 32.2.1.8, and ad 99.4, ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, 1:254 and 2:1394, respectively. Translations of these passages: McKinnon, ed., *Music in Early Christian Literature*, nos. 352, 356 and 361, pp. 154–55, 156–57, 158, respectively. See also Gelineau, *Chant et musique*, p. 31; and Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, pp. 73–77.

pieces and, I believe, pressed for the adoption of the sequentia at Saint Martial.

*

As a Benedictine, then, Adémar would have been required to participate in the celebration of the liturgy to the limits of his ability as a singer. I suggest below that his ability was significant. His sophisticated use of technical vocabulary about musical genres and singing in his literary works reveals detailed knowledge of those areas, commensurate with that of an experienced singer. Moreover, his innovative use of notation indicates that he sought to enhance the visual communication of musical information in the interests of improving pedagogy and the accurate transmission of chant. These developments, particularly the use of accurate heighting to present relative pitch information, move musical notation significantly closer to achieving fully literate communication. The solutions Adémar devised also suggest that here too he was responding to long personal experience as a singer.

Stronger evidence yet of his expertise as a singer appears in the manner in which he introduced corrections into the musical texts he copied into Pa 909. Most striking among these are the emendations he effected in the sequentiary, correcting errors that he had committed in Pa 1121 when he came to recopy the sequentiary in Pa 909. The task of identifying errors among the long strings of neumes in the untexted sequentiae would be daunting for the most experienced and musically literate scribe. Nevertheless, Adémar found and rectified a number of corruptions in the sequentiary. The most difficult to isolate are those involving inadvertent transposition, in which a single heighting error places the balance of the melody at the wrong pitch level, as illustrated in Example 6.1 above. It is an indication of the acuity of Adémar's perception and memory, both visual and aural, that he was able to correct several of the errors he had committed in Pa 1121.

Finally, Adémar's demonstrable passion for melismatic chant provides us with the firmest evidence of his singing activities. His original compositions exhibit extraordinary passages of florid writing that depend on a purely musical logic for their structure. Furthermore, his advocacy for the sequentia as a genre to be practised at Saint Martial as well as his compositions in the genre attest enormous enthusiasm for these textless pieces on his part. This knowledge and passion, I would suggest, could only have arisen from his first-hand experience with these melismatic repertories as a performer who sang them regularly in the liturgy.

Several of Adémar's original compositions stand out as extraordinary vehicles for vocal performance, and I wonder whether he created them specifically for himself to sing.[41] In the apostolic Mass for Martial, I signal the following pieces in this category: the Introit trope *Christi discipulus*, or at least its first two elements, *Christi discipulus* and *Emicat hic unus*; the verse *Elegit dominus* of the Gradual *Principes populorum*; and the second verse, *Designatus a domino*, of the Offertory *Diligo uirginitatem*. To these, I would add, from the apostolic Office for Martial, his newly composed introduction for the responsory *O sancte dei apostole* (last in the third nocturn of Matins) and the *Gloria* sung as its last verse, and the verse *O beate dei apostole Martialis* of the processional *Ave pastor optime*. Each of these pieces makes an exceptional musical statement in an extremely florid texture, and each occurs at a strategic point in the liturgy.[42]

If Adémar was a singer, his personal commitment to the promotion of Martial's apostolicity would dictate that he participate in the inauguration of his own apostolic liturgy to the fullest extent possible. His creation of these exceptional pieces would give him the opportunity to exploit his talents as a singer therewith to press the case for Martial's status. They become personal statements of his devotion to the apostolic programme. If, then, he designed these pieces for his own performance, they suggest that he commanded an impressive, virtuosic vocal technique, because all these pieces place significant technical demands on the singer, particularly in the melismatic passages. Furthermore, many of these chants occupy the lowest written range in the gamut used in plainchant and I therefore hypothesize that Adémar was a bass.[43] To that hypothesis I now add the supposition that he was a virtuoso singer, who put his technique to good purpose in the melismatic chants of his own composition.

[41] Grier, "The Music is the Message," pp. 13–14.

[42] *Christi discipulus* (Edition I.3.J) is the last trope complex for the Introit and probably accompanied the arrival of the celebrant or the relics of Martial at the altar. *Principes populorum* (Edition II.9.B) forms part of the musical interlude between the readings in the Mass. *Diligo uirginitatem* (Edition I.3.P-Q, II.9.D) accompanies the preparation of the host and the celebrant's own communion. *O sancte dei apostole* (Edition II.2.3.G) is the last major sung item of Matins. *Ave pastor optime* (Edition II.10.N) accompanies the procession on Montjovis.

[43] Grier, "The Music is the Message," p. 3, where I note that written pitch level in Adémar's period does not necessarily indicate absolute pitch level.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion: The success of the apostolic campaign

On 4 August 1029, Adémar departed Limoges in disgrace and returned to his home abbey of Saint Cybard in Angoulême. There, he spent the next few years compiling the forgeries he hoped would eventually provide incontrovertible evidence of Martial's apostolic status. The most notable among these are the proceedings of the Council of Limoges in 1031 and the letter from Pope John XIX, both of which survive in Adémar's autograph and unequivocally endorse Martial as an apostle.[1] He also devoted some of his time to the production of music manuscripts, as the fragmentary antiphoner in the endpapers of Pa 1978 and the addition to Pa 1118, discussed in Chapter 2 above, show. As well, he altered the liturgy for Martial in Pa 1120 and 1121.[2] He passed his last years at Saint Cybard friendless in lonely isolation.

When he resolved to quit this difficult situation in Angoulême and to assuage his guilt by embarking on pilgrimage for Jerusalem, he decided to leave his library behind at Saint Martial. There, some years after his death, a sympathetic monk entered the following colophon in the most elaborate codex he had produced, Lei 8° 15.

Hic est liber sanctissimi domni nostri Marcialis lemouicensis ex libris bonae memoriae Ademari grammatici. Nam postquam idem multos annos peregit in domini seruicio, ac simul in monachico ordine in eiusdem patris coenobio, profecturus Hierusalem ad sepulchrum domini nec inde reuersurus, multos

[1] Proceedings of the Council of Limoges: Pa 2469 fols. 97r-112v; printed [Adémar], *Acta concilii lemovicensis II*. For commentary, see Saltet, "Un cas," pp. 152–57; Callahan, "Adémar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace Council"; and Becquet, "Le concile de Limoges de 1031." Letter of John the XIX: Pa 5240 fols. 8v-9r; printed as *Joannis XIX papae epistolae et diplomata* 15, cols. 1149–50; Saltet, "Une prétendue lettre," pp. 129–30; and Landes, "A Libellus," pp. 200–1. For commentary, see Saltet, "Une prétendue lettre"; Landes, "A Libellus"; and *idem*, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 274–76. On the forgeries in general, see Saltet, "Les faux," and "Un cas"; Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes and His Insertions"; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 269–81.

[2] See Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 61–63, and "The Musical Autographs," pp. 154–56.

libros in quibus sudauerat eidem suo pastori ac nutritori reliquid ex quibus hic est unus.[3]

(This is the book of our most holy lord Martial of Limoges, from the books of Adémar the grammarian of good memory. For after he spent many years in the service of the Lord, and at the same time in the monastic order in the monastery of the same father, about to set out for Jerusalem to the sepulchre of the Lord, nor would he return from there, he left behind for the same pastor, his own, and the one who nurtured him, many books on which he had laboured, from which this is one.)[4]

Richard Landes provides a detailed analysis of this text, from which I emphasize three points. First, the expression "ex libris bonae memoriae Ademari grammatici" ("from the books of Adémar the grammarian of good memory") violates Benedictine precepts about the ownership of personal property.[5] To whatever degree the rule of Saint Benedict was enforced at Saint Cybard or Saint Martial, Adémar treated both monastic libraries as if they were his own. He took Pa 1120, 1121, 909 and 1118 from Saint Martial with him in his retreat to Angoulême in 1029, all of which he apparently returned before departing on pilgrimage. But, in reciprocal fashion, he removed from the library some of the books he had produced at Saint Cybard, including Pa 2400, 3784 and Lei 8° 15, and gave them to Saint Martial. Such behaviour lies far beyond anything countenanced by the Benedictine rule, and shows that Adémar felt himself above any such restrictions.

Second, Landes dates another text by the same hand in this codex to AD 1052 or later.[6] If the colophon is similar in age, it would also correspond to the period during which Pa 1119, the troper-proser that includes a copy of Adémar's troped apostolic Mass for Martial, was produced, as I discuss below. This point, in conjunction with the third and final issue, shows that Adémar's reputation had completely changed since the calamity caused by the inauguration of his apostolic liturgy; and that is, the colophon incorrectly claims Adémar as a monk of Saint

[3] Lei 8° 15 fol. 141v; printed in "Handschriften aus der Universitätsbibliothek in Leiden," p. 575; Delisle, "Les manuscrits," p. 3, and "Notice," pp. 243, 302; Les Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons*, no. 255, 1:33; Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, 3:41; and Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 279 n. 39 (reproduced *ibid.*, Figure 9, p. 358). I retain the manuscript spelling "reliquid," in agreement with Delisle, "Les manuscrits," p. 3; *idem*, "Notice," p. 302; and Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, 3:41. For commentary, see Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 279–81.

[4] Cf. the translation in Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 279.

[5] Benedict, *Regula* 33, ed. Vogüé and Neufville, 2:562. See also Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, pp. 279–80.

[6] Lei 8° 15 fol. 193v, reproduced at Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, Figure 8, p. 357; see *ibid.*, p. 279.

Martial, while noting that he is "of good memory."[7] We noted that Adémar himself, despairing the apparent end of his career at Saint Cybard with the elevation of Amalfredus to the office of abbot, signed the sequentiary in Pa 1121 "ADEMARVS MONACHVS SANCTI MARCIALIS" (fol. 58r). It is unclear whether the author of the colophon in Lei 8° 15 knew of this signature. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that Adémar was now fully rehabilitated from the disgrace caused by the events of 3 August 1029, at least in the mind of the monk who wrote this text. That rehabilitation led directly, I believe, to the production of Pa 1119 with the apostolic liturgy for Martial.

Bernard Itier, the abbey's librarian in the early thirteenth century, held Adémar's memory in sufficient regard to include in his chronicle not only a death notice for Adémar (which amplifies the remark in the colophon from Lei 8° 15 regarding his death), but also a reference to his vision of the cross in the sky, in which he quotes Adémar's own *Chronicon*.[8] Here is the death notice.

Anno gracie m°xxx°iiii°, obiit Ademarus monachus qui iussit fieri Vitam Sancti Marcialis cum litteris aureis et multos alios libros, et in Iherusalem migrauit ad dominum.

(In the year of grace 1034, Adémar the monk, who commanded a Life of Saint Martial to be produced with golden letters as well as many other books, died and departed to the Lord in Jerusalem.)[9]

To place this passage in context, I note that it is significantly longer and more detailed than any of the other death notices from the eleventh century included in Itier's chronicle. Furthermore, with the notable exception of Adémar, all other persons of the eleventh century that Itier commemorated by death notices held one of the following offices: pope, abbot of Cluny, bishop of Limoges, abbot of Saint Martial.[10] Adémar stands in rarefied company indeed.

[7] Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 280.

[8] Death notice: Pa 1338 fol. 36r. Vision of the cross: Pa 3719 fol. 111r. Printed: Itier, *Chronique* 53, ed. Lemaître, pp. 13–14. Itier, in his account of Adémar's vision of the cross, quotes Adémar, *Chronicon* 3.46, ed. Bourgain, *et al.*, pp. 165–66.

[9] I take the phrase "in Iherusalem" to mean "in" or "at Jerusalem" with most scholars (e.g., Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits*, p. 281). Lemaître, however, translates it "sur la route de Jérusalem" (Itier, *Chronique* 53, ed. Lemaître, p. 13), assuming that Itier would have used the locative of the indeclinable *Iherusalem* without preposition, emulating classical usage, to indicate the meaning I assign. First, classical usage would prefer the preposition *ad* for the meaning Lemaître understands; and second, Itier elsewhere uses the phrase "in Iherusalem" in place of the locative (e.g., Pa 1338 fol. 3v; Itier, *Chronique* 6, ed. Lemaître, p. 2).

[10] Itier, *Chronique* 40–67, ed. Lemaître, pp. 11–16.

These two texts, the colophon in Lei 8° 15 and Itier's death notice for Adémar, suggest that the disgrace of 3 August 1029 barely outlived Adémar himself. Within a couple of decades of his death, Adémar was accepted by the monks at Saint Martial as one of their own number. And his status remained undiminished in the eyes of Bernard Itier, who is careful to call him "monacus Sancti Eparchii et Sancti Marcialis" ("monk of Saint Cybard and Saint Martial").[11] Adémar's rehabilitation, I believe, is inextricably linked to the enthusiasm for the apostolic cult for Martial, as we shall see from the following analysis of the liturgical books produced at Saint Martial during the balance of the eleventh century.

That enthusiasm simmered just beneath the surface until the death of Abbot Odolric in 1040, when it emerged in subdued form. A decade later, when Bishop Jordan of Limoges died in 1051, the monks of Saint Martial became much bolder and openly embraced Martial's apostolic status. Even the purchase and occupation of the abbey by the Cluniac monks, in 1062–63, could not suppress the cult. By the end of the eleventh century, the monks at Saint Martial were using a conventional apostolic liturgy for Martial's feast. This remarkable story documents how Adémar's scheme succeeded, within a century of his death, far beyond his own expectations.

PA 1138/1338 AND THE PROSAE FOR SAINT MARTIAL

Codices Pa 1138 and 1338 comprise a large double proser (i.e., it contains two series of prosae for the complete liturgical year), with sections of prosulae for Alleluias and Offertories, whose constituent gatherings were disordered at a relatively early date. I would suggest that the manuscript may have suffered this fate because it was preserved in the library at Saint Martial in an unbound state, as I propose for both Pa 1121 and 909. In this case, the problem was compounded at the time of binding by spreading the gatherings over the present two codices, Pa 1138 and 1338. Guido Maria Dreves first reconstructed the original order of the gatherings, and his work has been usefully supplemented by Jacques Chailley, Richard Crocker and Heinrich Husmann.[12]

Scholars differ on the date of the main body of this manuscript. Hans Spanke and Richard Crocker assign it to the period before AD 1025 on

[11] Pa 3719 fol. 111r; Itier, *Chronique* 53, ed. Lemaître, p. 14.

[12] Dreves, ed., *AH* 7:6–8; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 179–80; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 96–98; Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:127–50, 2:126–37; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 136–37.

the basis of the signature at Pa 1138 fol. 50r, which they attribute to Roger de Chabannes, Adémar's uncle.[13] Chailley notes, however, that two prosae in the manuscript, *Alma cohors* and *Laudum da falanx*, acknowledge Martial's apostolic status, and so dates the manuscript to the period after Adémar's attempt to inaugurate the apostolic liturgy.[14] As I establish below, neither of these prosae, in the version attested by Pa 1138/1338, refers to Martial as an apostle. Nevertheless, the main body of Pa 1138/1338 must postdate Pa 1120. Pa 1138/1338 draws a good deal of its repertory from Pa 1118 and 1084, which probably arrived at Saint Martial during the 1020s and definitely after the production of Pa 1120.

The older, second series of prosae in Pa 1138/1338 presents a blend of the repertory at Saint Martial as found in Pa 1120 and that shared by Pa 1118 and 1084.[15] Of the eighty items in the second series, fully half (forty-one) occur in one or both of Pa 1118 and 1084 but not in Pa 1120, while nearly all of the balance (thirty-four) are present in Pa 1120. Adémar also drew on Pa 1118 and 1084, particularly for pieces in his appendix to the sequentiary in Pa 1121. The scribe of Pa 1138/1338 uses these sources to supplement the collection of prosae known from Pa 1120. So, Pa 1138/1338 is a younger manuscript than Pa 1120. It is unlikely that the scriptorium of Saint Martial would have undertaken the copying of a proser during the 1020s, however, because of the production of Pa 1121 in AD 1027–28, in which Adémar, of course, participated. It originally included a proser, presumably of some size, and certainly for the complete liturgical year. Therefore, I posit a date for the production of Pa 1138/1338 in the following decade.

The manuscript does, however, contain one prosa that is unequivocally apostolic in its diction: *Arce polorum*, an original composition of Adémar's. Chailley and Crocker both note its presence and suggest it has been added, Crocker by the principal hand presumably later than the main body of the manuscript, and Chailley by a second hand, but do not draw any inference from it.[16] I originally believed it was written in the principal hand of the proser, and so established a date for the production of the manuscript after the failed inauguration of the liturgy 3 August

[13] Spanke, "St. Martial-Studien," p. 286; Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:127, 2:126; and *idem*, "The Repertory of Proses," p. 153. Lair, *Historia*, p. 226 n. 1, tentatively identified this Roger as Roger de Chabannes. See also Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," p. 56.

[14] Chailley, *L'école*, p. 97 and n. 2. I initially accepted this observation: Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 56–57. See also Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 137.

[15] See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:126–37.

[16] Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 179; *idem*, *L'école*, p. 97; Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:130.

Table 7.1. *Sequences for the feast of Saint Martial in Pa 1138/1338*

Incipit	Fols.	Gathering	Remarks
Obseruanda	Pa 1338 fol. 63r-v	VIIII-X	First series.
	Pa 1138 fols. 23r-24r		Usually for Dedication.
Valde lumen	Pa 1138 fols. 24r-27r	X	
Alle sublime	Pa 1138 fols. 27r-28r	X	
Concelebremus	Pa 1138 fols. 101v-103r	XX–XXI	Second series.
Alma cohors	Pa 1338 fols. 130v-132v	XXXII	First hand.
Laudum da falanx	Pa 1338 fols. 132v-134v	XXXII-	With *Laudiflua* for Pentecost.
	Pa 1138 fols. 135r-136v	[XXXIII]	Gathering XXXIII not signed.
Arce polorum	Pa 1338 fols. 5v-8v	———	Later hand.
Arce polorum	Pa 1338 fols. 137v-138r	———	Later hand. Sequentia.
Alme deus	Pa 1338 fols. 138r-139r	———	Later hand.

1029.[17] On reinspection of the manuscript, I now agree with Chailley that *Arce polorum* was added by a second hand. In view of the complexity of the evidence, and the importance of this manuscript in attesting the renewed interest in Martial's apostolic liturgy on the part of the monks at Saint Martial, I give a full account of the prosae it preserves for his feast.

Table 7.1 gives a full list of all the sequences, texted except where noted, assigned to Martial's feast in Pa 1138/1338. Because the foliation in these two codices does not represent the original order of its constituent parts, I give the gathering in which each piece occurs, identified by the signature placed at the bottom centre of the last verso of each gathering.[18] The first series of prosae closes with the rubric "FACTA SVNT PROSAS NOVAS," which thus suggests that the second series consists of "old" prosae.[19] The two principal series transmit three of the oldest prosae for Martial, *Valde lumen*, *Alle sublime* and *Concelebremus*. All three occur in the proser of Pa 1120, and *Concelebremus* also appears in Pa 1240, 1154, 1118 and 1084, and therefore knew a much wider dissemination at an earlier

[17] Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," p. 57; "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 249–50.

[18] The signatures in Pa 909 occur in the same place; see Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," p. 241.

[19] Pa 1338 fol. 69v. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:128, 2:127. Gautier, *Les tropes*, p. 122 n. (note begins at p. 111 n. 3), and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 137, read "Factas novas prosas"; there is a clear abbreviation sign above the *s* that follows "Facta," both in the principal rubric and in the cue in the left margin, and so the reading "facta sunt," however ungrammatical it renders "prosas nouas," is the correct reading. Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 179, and *L'école*, p. 96, gives "Incipiunt novas prosas." Gautier, Chailley and Husmann all take the rubric as the introductory statement for the second series, which they consequently understand to be the "new series." Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:134, correctly identifies it as the concluding rubric of the first series.

date than the other two prosae.[20] *Obseruanda*, which heads the first series, stands as a peculiar choice. Although it circulated only at Saint Martial (and was therefore probably composed there), and its text mentions Martial, it is usually assigned to the Feast of the Dedication, which is repeatedly confirmed in the text.[21]

Stanza 2b: . . . Qua pontifex maximus hanc Marcialis dicauit basilicam.

(. . . On which the high pontiff Martial dedicated this basilica.)

Stanzas 3b–4a: . . . qui ipsam sacrauit aecclesiam,

In qua iacent tumulata membrorum huius climata . . . .

(. . . who consecrated the very church in which lie the entombed parts of his members . . . .)

All four prosae in the two principal series are firmly episcopal in their liturgical orientation towards Martial. *Obseruanda* uses the term *pontifex maximus* (stanza 2b) while *Valde lumen* (stanzas 8b, 9a and 10b) and *Alle sublime* (stanza 6a) refer to Martial as *presul*; both terms unequivocally identify Martial as a bishop.[22] The diction of *Concelebremus* is less precise, yet remains consistent with Martial's episcopal rank. His status is compared to that of an apostle (stanza 6b, quoted in Adémar's circular letter and discussed in Chapter 2 above), and Martial is addressed as "patriarcham" (stanza 10a).[23] Both terms, however, are used in a figurative instead of a literal sense, which might be paraphrased: "for us he is an 'apostle' or a 'patriarch'." The reader or listener who believes that

[20] Prosae in Pa 1120: *Valde lumen* (fols. 125v-127r), *Alle sublime* (fols. 128v-129r), *Concelebremus* (fol. 127r-v); see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:186. Other manuscript witnesses for *Concelebremus*: Pa 1240 fols. 59vb-61va, Pa 1154 fols. 142vb-143rb, Pa 1118 fols. 213v-214v, and Pa 1084 fols. 261v-262r and 294r-v; see Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:28; on its appearance in Pa 1154, see Chapter 2 above.

[21] Pa 1240 fols. 55va-56rb, Pa 1120 fols. 144r-145r, Pa 887 fols. 145v-146v, Pa 1119 fols. 221r-222v, Pa 1136 fols. 37r-38r, and Pa 1137 fols. 104r-105r all assign it to the dedication. Text: *AH* 7: no. 221 pp. 241–42. See Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:56–57; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 137, who notes its presence in Pa 1138/1338 among the prosae for Martial.

[22] Text of *Obseruanda*, see n. 21 above. Misset and Weale, *Analecta liturgica*, 2:4–5, assume that the expression "pontifex maximus" refers to a pope, to which Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 68–69, responds by characterizing the phrase as "only a coincidence." Bannister, "The Earliest French Troper," pp. 421–22, reviews Misset and Weale's arguments and, *ibid.*, pp. 426–29, refutes them by showing that the expression can refer to someone of episcopal rank. Texts of *Valde lumen* and *Alle sublime*: *AH* 7: nos. 161 and 162, respectively, pp. 177–80. For the meaning of *presul*, see the discussion in Chapter 3 above.

[23] Text of *Concelebremus*: *AH* 7: no. 166 pp. 183–84. The text of Pa 1138 fol. 102v differs from that quoted by Adémar in his circular letter; Pa 1138 reads "Ciues celicole ut collegam omnes [second "omnes" cancelled] adleta<m> suum apostolum Aquitania" ("All the citizens of heaven [worship] the combatant of Christ as their colleague, Aquitaine as their own apostle").

Martial held the rank of bishop, nevertheless, receives no contradictory information to that effect.

The comparison of Martial to an apostle in *Concelebremus* stanza 6b receives amplification in *Valde lumen*. Stanza 2b names the saint as an "extremely famous companion" ("sodalem preclarum") of the "apostolic college" ("apostolica collegia"), and in stanza 7b, Martial bears the "nourishing signs of holy apostolicity" ("signa apostolatus sacri[s] . . . alma"). Neither statement repudiates the unequivocal identification of Martial as a bishop (*presul*) in this text, as noted above. Nor, therefore, do these passages in *Concelebremus* and *Valde lumen* indicate that Martial held the rank of apostle. And the specific language of *Valde lumen* counters Crocker's assertion that an association between this sequence and the apostolic cult exists through the identification of the Alleluia incipit with which the prosa begins as that used in the Common of Doctors.[24]

The episcopal orientation of these four prosae, then, suggests that the main body of the manuscript was produced after the events of 3 August 1029, when the monastery returned to a rigorously episcopal liturgy for its patron saint. As mentioned above, I propose a date in the 1030s, during the abbacy of Odolric, whose involvement in the embarrassing failure of the inauguration of Adémar's apostolic liturgy would have obliged him to embrace once again Martial's episcopal status.

A third group of prosae, written in the principal hand of the manuscript, occurs at the end of a series of Offertory and Alleluia prosulae.[25] The group consists of *Alma cohors* and *Laudum da falanx*, the prosae cited by Chailley as evidence of the apostolic orientation of the manuscript. Both, however, use melodies associated with other feasts and texts. The melody of *Alma cohors* appears with at least two other texts, *Alle uox promat* for Saint Yrieix and *Alle boans luia* for Saint Valérie.[26] A trace of a third text, *Marcialis clara*, appears in the rubric for this melody in the sequentiary of Pa 1121.[27] *Laudum da falanx* uses a melody that is better

[24] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:131–32 and 76. A doctor of the church is not necessarily an apostle, and the Alleluia incipit in question is associated with a number of other texts. See Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog*, no. 119 pp. 122–23; and Grier, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," in *Music Discourse from Classical to Early Modern Times*, ed. Maniates, p. 28 (the version of this table in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 6 [1997], 108, contains errors).

[25] The Offertory prosulae begin at Pa 1338 fol. 79v, the Alleluia prosulae at Pa 1338 fol. 106v.

[26] Texts of *Alle uox promat* and *Alle boans luia*: *AH* 7: nos. 126 and 204, pp. 139–40 and 224–26, respectively. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:12–14.

[27] Pa 1121 fol. 65r; see also Edition IXA.22.A. Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 170; and Grier, "The Musical Autographs," p. 154.

known with the prosa *Laudiflua*, a widely attested piece for Pentecost.[28] *Laudum da falanx* occurs in only two prosers, Pa 1138/1338 and 1119, although Adémar knew of its existence because he placed the textual incipit in the rubric for *Laudiflua* in the sequentiary of Pa 909.[29] These two prosae, *Alma cohors* and *Laudum da falanx*, with their divided liturgical loyalties, do not strengthen the veneration for Martial, but instead form an ancillary group of pieces for his feast.

Moreover, contrary to Chailley's assertions, neither prosa, in the version preserved in Pa 1338, endorses Martial's apostolic status. Three times the text of *Alma cohors* names Martial as *presul*, meaning "bishop" (stanzas 6a, and 7a and b), as does *Laudum da falanx* (stanzas 3a and 8a).[30] Like *Concelebremus* and *Valde lumen* (discussed above), the text of *Laudum da falanx* also portrays Martial as an associate of the apostles (stanzas 6b–7a). On him, "the lofty, divine majesty, deeming him worthy, conferred the rights of binding every type of fetter and of releasing crimes" ("Magestas quem dignans diuina celsa contulit iura religandi omnigena uincula soluendi necne crimina"; stanza 6b). The key word here is "dignans," which implies that these characteristically apostolic rights are given to Martial not because he is an apostle, but because he is worthy of the distinction. In all three prosae, therefore, Martial remains a bishop in rank even though he is apostolic in character. This supplement, then, reinforces the episcopal orientation of the prosae in the two principal series. I would therefore date the production of this portion of the manuscript to the same period as the principal series.

At a later date (in the 1040s, I would suggest, only after the death of Abbot Odolric in 1040), a second scribe entered Adémar's apostolic prosa *Arce polorum*.[31] The copying of this piece signifies a change in liturgical veneration of Martial by the abbey's monks, even if a cautious one. I characterize it as cautious because the prosa is concealed to some degree at the end of a series of Alleluia prosulae, which themselves occur in an unsigned gathering that forms an appendix to the manuscript.[32]

[28] See *AH* 7: no. 76 pp. 88–90; and Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:48.

[29] Pa 909 fol. 116r-v. See Edition IXA.13.D.

[30] Texts of *Alma cohors* and *Laudum da falanx*: *AH* 7: nos. 218 and 160, pp. 238 and 175–77, respectively.

[31] The principal text hand of the manuscript uses a very distinct minuscule *d*, with an undulation at the top of the loop. The hand in which *Arce polorum* is written uses a rounded loop.

[32] The gathering (Husmann's gathering C; *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 136), fols. 1–8, begins with a blank first recto, which would serve as the outside cover, a technique found elsewhere in Aquitaine, but relatively rare in the scriptorium at Saint Martial (see Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," p. 17; "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 72; and "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 79–80, where I noted

Presumably, there was no other place to put it, as it was added after the main body of the manuscript was produced. Nevertheless, a potential user of the book would need to know where to look in order to find it. And so, I consider the addition of this prosa to Pa 1138/1338 a surreptitious and guarded attempt to resurrect Adémar's apostolic liturgy for Martial.

The same scribe later added an untexted version of *Arce polorum*, followed by a texted version of *Alme deus*.[33] This is a curious combination, as the former piece is apostolic in its texted form, while this version of *Alme deus* is just as clearly episcopal. In stanza 10a, for example, the prosa refers to Martial as "uerendus pontifex," identifying him as a bishop.[34] Prospective users of the book, of course, would have to know the texted form of *Arce polorum* to recognize its apostolic orientation. And so this final supplement presents a further obfuscation of the manuscript's liturgical treatment of Martial.

In short, I believe the overall complexion of this manuscript reflects the status of the competing episcopal and apostolic liturgies for Martial in the immediate aftermath of Adémar's failure on 3 August 1029. The initial, official reaction required a reinstatement of the traditional, episcopal liturgy for the patron saint, represented by the two principal series and the supplement consisting of *Alma cohors* and *Laudum da falanx*. Subsequent to the production of the main body of the manuscript, a monk sympathetic to the apostolicity copied Adémar's *Arce polorum*, probably after the death of Odolric. Then, however, in the final supplement to the manuscript, he coupled the untexted version of *Arce polorum* and the prosa *Alme deus* in an episcopal version, further illustrating his own liturgical ambivalence and that of Pa 1138/1338.

PA 5240 AND THE HYMNS FOR MARTIAL

Among the manuscripts bound together to form the current Pa 5240 is an office lectionary that closes with several Offices in the form in which they

that I knew of no manuscripts from Saint Martial itself that started with a blank first recto; Pa 1085, the subject of that article and a product of the scriptorium at Saint Martial, begins in this way: the blank first recto is the current fol. 3r, and the manuscript begins on fol. 3v). The principal scribe of Pa 1138/1338 entered the first four Alleluia prosulae, Pa 1338 fols. 1v-3v; other scribes wrote the texts on fols. 4r-5v. No signature occurs on the last verso, fol. 8v.

[33] This gathering (Husmann's gathering D; *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 136), fols. 134bis-143, also lacks a signature. It begins with Alleluia prosulae in the second hand of the appendix mentioned above, Pa 1338 fols. 1–8. The second hand appears there on fol. 4r-v and in this further gathering fols. 134bisr-137v.

[34] Text of *Alme deus*: *AH* 7: no. 164 pp. 181–82.

would occur in a noted breviary (i.e., with the full texts of all items, spoken and sung, and neumations for the chants). The lectionary occupies fols. 43–114 of the codex, and the Offices begin on fol. 93r with Trinity. The lections of the noted Offices are written in the same hand and module as the rest of the lectionary, while the texts of the chants appear in a smaller module.[35] Not all the Offices are complete, and that for Martial (fols. 113v-114r) contains only hymns, introduced by the rubric "DE SANCTO MARTIALE HYMNI AD NOCTVRNOS IN EIVS FESTIVITATE" ("Hymns concerning Saint Martial for the Nocturns in his feast").[36] The hymns included bear a mixed message regarding Martial's rank, and some of those designations have been altered through erasure.

First occurs *Martialis sanctissimi tropheum.* This hymn appears in the Moissac hymnal, Vat 205, in an episcopal version, and Adémar provided an apostolic form in his revision of the apostolic Office in Pa 1978, with the incipit *Marcialis apostolus tropheum* (e.g., in stanza 6, he replaced "presule" with "apostolo").[37] Although the incipit in Pa 5240 retains the episcopal reading, other passages reflect alterations: the altered passages preserve the episcopal readings found in Vat 205, written in a later hand over erasures. Most of the original readings are illegible, but in two places it is possible to confirm that they agreed with Adémar's apostolic version. In stanza 2, line 1, and stanza 6, line 3, Pa 5240's original readings "Patriarchali" and "apostolo," respectively, both reflecting the readings of Adémar's version, are legible below the episcopal readings "Hic praeclarus de" and "presule." We may therefore deduce that, aside from the incipit, the text of this version of the hymn originally retained Adémar's apostolic readings.

Four more hymns follow: *Benigna Christi gratia respargit* (for Lauds and Vespers), *Benigna Christi gratia nobis* (Terce), *Duos sanctus apostolus* (Sext) and *Martialis apostolus carnis* (Nones).[38] All of these contain language that identifies Martial as an apostle, and some of these readings have been wholly or partially erased (e.g., in stanza 1 of *Benigna* I,

[35] The principal hand breaks off in the middle of fol. 102r, followed by several additions through fol. 103r. Fols. 103va-106ra contain a poetic text that begins "Martialis noster ardor," written in the principal hand of the lectionary. The balance of the material on fol. 106r-v was added later. Fols. 107–114 comprise a new gathering written by the scribe or scribes who compiled the Offices on fols. 93r-102r.

[36] Pa 5240 fols. 113v-114r; rubric fol. 113v.

[37] Vat 205 fol. 24r-v; Pa 1978 fol. 103r. See *AH* 2: no. 61 p. 56; and Edition App.A.2.

[38] *Benigna Christi gratia respargit* also appears in Vat 205 fols. 24v-25r; see *AH* 2: no. 62 pp. 56–57.

"apostolus" is erased; in stanza 3 of *Benigna* II, the letters *a* and *s* are erased, leaving the letters "_po_tolus"). Finally, following a copy of a land transaction on fol. 114v, the principal scribe has entered the opening of the hymn *Marciali apostolo*.[39] A crude hand has replaced the word "apostolo" in the incipit over an erasure. I suspect that the original reading was also "apostolo," which was erased and subsequently rewritten.

This combination of events strongly suggests that this portion of Pa 5240 was written at a time when it was not completely safe to endorse Martial's apostolicity in an overt way. Hence, the scribe has entered a non-committal rubric for the hymns and retained the episcopal incipit of *Martialis sanctissimi tropheum*. The strategy did not altogether work, as the adjustments to the text of this hymn and the erasures in the following two items, *Benigna* I and II, show. Moreover, someone involved with the scriptorium and the oversight of its productions felt strongly enough about the situation to effect these corrections and return these texts to their episcopal form.

Two other scribes have added two further hymns for Martial at the end of the Office of the Trinity. *Iocundis pangat mentibus* is introduced by the rubric "YMNVS DE SANCTO MARCIALE" (fol. 102v), and is followed immediately by the hymn *Festiua lux*, written by a second scribe in a smaller module (fols. 102v-103r).[40] Neither piece contributes materially to the apostolic debate as no mention of Martial's ecclesiastical rank occurs in either text. Their addition would seem to confirm the attitude of those in the scriptorium who saw fit to delete references to Martial's apostolicity from the hymns that occur in his Office at fols. 113v-114r. Texts that did not confirm Martial's apostolic status would not offend.

I would suggest that these circumstances are consistent with the conditions under which Pa 1138/1338 was produced, when the monks of the scriptorium vacillated between an episcopal and apostolic liturgical orientation, yet official policy required the maintenance of the episcopal liturgy. Moreover, the way in which the ruling of the parchment is used for the imposition of the musical notation illuminates the date of the manuscript. Throughout the Office of the Trinity (fols. 93r-101v), the text scribe has used alternate rules for the texts of chants, leaving the intermediate rule as a one-line staff for the music. The same scribe did not follow this convention for the Offices and hymns that follow (fols. 107–114), and therefore its

[39] Text: *AH* 11: no. 353 pp. 192–93; and Emerson, *An Edition*, no. 166 pp. 67–68.

[40] Text of *Iocundis pangat mentibus*: *AH* 11: no. 352 p. 192; Emerson, *An Edition*, no. 156 pp. 65–66. Text of *Festiua lux*: *AH* 11: no. 354 p. 193; Emerson, *An Edition*, no. 267 p. 80.

use had not yet become general. Chailley suggests that wide use of this line began around the middle of the eleventh century.[41] Therefore, I assign a date for this manuscript to the 1040s, after the death of Abbot Odolric. The monks of that era felt freer to copy items from the apostolic liturgy, such as the prosa *Arce polorum*, but the official stance of the abbey seems to have opposed the outright adoption of the apostolic position.

PA 1119: ADÉMAR'S TROPED APOSTOLIC MASS AND PROSAE FOR MARTIAL

Codex Pa 1119 is the last large troper produced at Saint Martial that includes tropes for both the Proper and the Ordinary of the Mass as well as prosae. Much of the parchment is ruled in such a way that an intermediate line functions as a single-line staff for the musical notation. A date of the mid-eleventh century suggested by this convention is corroborated, I believe, by the appearance of Adémar's troped apostolic Mass for Martial in its correct place among the tropes for the Proper of the Mass, along with clear apostolic references in the manuscript's proser.[42]

Such an overt endorsement of Martial's apostolicity would have been impossible before the death, in 1051, of Bishop Jordan of Limoges, who participated, along with Abbot Odolric, in the failed inauguration of Adémar's liturgy. The embarrassment he felt at his participation in Adémar's scheme would have prohibited him from tolerating any express acknowledgement of Adémar or Martial's apostolicity anywhere in the city, including the abbey of Saint Martial. A date for Pa 1119 in the 1050s would also correspond with the probable date of the colophon in Lei 8° 15 that embraces Adémar as a monk of Saint Martial "of good memory."

The scribe of Pa 1119 copied most of the Proper tropes in his collection from Pa 1120, which had clearly acquired the status of the source of principal authority for this repertory.[43] This procedure is unmistakably illustrated by the opening of the troped Mass for Martial. Over an erasure, the scribe opens the Mass with a trope complex consisting of three

[41] Chailley, *L'école*, p. 70.

[42] Chailley dates Pa 1119 after AD 1031 because of its inclusion of apostolic material: "Les anciens tropaires," p. 181; *L'école*, p. 102. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:230–34; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 126–28.

[43] Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, p. 129, suggested that the proser in Pa 1119 was copied from that in Pa 1120. I show (Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 37) that at least some of the Proper tropes were copied from Pa 909.

Table 7.2. *The trope complex Plebs deuota in Pa 1120, 909 and 1119*

Pa 1120	Pa 909	Pa 1119
Plebs deuota / [STATVIT]	Plebs deuota / PROBAVIT	Plebs deuota / PROBAVIT
Extulit atque / [*erased*]	Ipse est Marcialis / COGNOVIT	Extulit atque / COGNOVIT
Lemouicis famulum / [*erased*]	Hisraelis quem stirpe / DEDVXIT	Lemouicis famulum / ET NIMIS
	Culmine apostolico clarum / ET NIMIS	Ipse est Marcialis / COGNOVIT
		Hisraelis quem stirpe / DEDVXIT
		Culmine apostolico clarum / ET NIMIS

elements, *Plebs deuota*, *Extulit atque* and *Lemouicis famulum*, cued to the apostolic Introit *Probauit*.[44] This is precisely the way the Mass opens in Pa 1120, except that the cues for the Introit, originally the episcopal chant *Statuit*, are erased, presumably by Adémar.[45] Then, however, the scribe of Pa 1119 turned to Pa 909 and copied from it the three elements Adémar added to *Plebs deuota* to create the opening trope complex of his apostolic Mass, *Ipse est Marcialis*, *Hisraelis quem stirpe* and *Culmine apostolico clarum*, also cued to the final three phrases of *Probauit*.[46]

This combination of elements created a trope complex that is impossible to perform in any meaningful way. It includes one complete and one nearly complete set of trope elements for the first statement of the Introit antiphon, with each phrase of the Introit, except for the first, being introduced by two different trope elements: the phrase beginning *Cognouit* is preceded by both *Extulit atque* and *Ipse est Marcialis*; and *Et nimis* follows both *Lemouicis famulum* and *Culmine apostolico clarum*. Because the apostolic version of the trope consists of four elements rather than three in the episcopal version, the intermediate phrase of the antiphon, *Deduxit*, receives its own introductory trope element, *Hisraelis quem stirpe*, but none in the episcopal version. As Table 7.2 shows, this version calls for the repetition of the final three phrases of the Introit antiphon.[47]

[44] Pa 1119 fols. 54v-55r.
[45] Pa 1120 fol. 46r-v. On the erasures, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," p. 61; and Edition I.3.A.
[46] Pa 1119 fol. 55r; cf. Pa 909 fol. 42r-v.
[47] In Table 7.2, trope incipits are given ordinary capitalization; incipits of the constituent phrases of the Introit antiphon appear in all capitals, as is the convention in Corpus Troporum. Günther

This problematic opening trope complex suggests, I believe, that the scribe of Pa 1119 originally intended to incorporate Adémar's troped apostolic Mass into the liturgical cycle of Proper tropes. He faltered with the trope complex *Plebs deuota* because he continued copying from Pa 1120, as he had been doing up to this point, although he succeeded in including the apostolic Introit antiphon *Probauit*. When he finished copying the trope element *Lemouicis famulum*, he realized that he had begun with the episcopal instead of the apostolic version, as he had intended and as the introductory rubric "IN FESTIVITATE SANCTI MARCIALIS APOSTOLI" indicates. With that realization, he replaced Pa 1120 as his exemplar with Pa 909, the source of the apostolic liturgy. Instead of beginning over, however, he compounded his error by copying just the final three trope elements of the complex. Thus he required the prospective user of the book to understand the structure of the trope, and therefore to begin with the element *Plebs deuota*, skip over the episcopal *Extulit atque* and *Lemouicis famulum*, and continue with the apostolic *Ipse est Marcialis*, *Hisraelis quem stirpe* and *Culmine apostolico clarum*.

After this confused beginning, the scribe of Pa 1119 then follows Pa 909 with minor variations. He adds a cue to the Lesser Doxology, which Adémar had omitted from his autograph altogether, after the trope complex *Sortis apostolicae* with verse *Ecce sanctum*.[48] This cue is redundant since the Doxology within the Introit is rendered as a verse and a verse, namely *Ecce sanctum*, is already present. A more useful modification occurs among the tropes *ad sequentia*. Adémar included two such tropes in Pa 909, *Christus apostolico* before the sequentia *Arce polorum*, and *Marcialis primus* introducing *Concelebremus*.[49] The first appears between the cue for the Alleluia and the Offertory tropes, as would be expected. Adémar places *Marcialis primus*, however, at the end of the Mass, after the Communion tropes. The scribe of Pa 1119 silently emends by placing it immediately after *Christus apostolico*, not without causing some difficulty for the music scribe, as noted in Chapter 2 above.[50]

Weiß, ed., *MMMA* 3: no. 75 pp. 93–94, transcribed the entire complex from Pa 1119, complete with the repeated cues to the latter part of the antiphon. Clemens Blume, ed., *AH* 49: no. 291 p. 129, treated the three apostolic elements–*Ipse est Marcialis*, *Hisraelis quem stirpe* and *Culmine apostolico clarum*–as an independent trope complex, cuing them to the episcopal Introit *Statuit*, a combination that occurs in no surviving manuscript. Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, no. 140 p. 210, gives an accurate transcription of the three-element episcopal trope as given in Pa 1121 fol. 29r.

[48] Pa 1119 fols. 57v-58r. See Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 42–43. I originally believed that Adémar intended that the Doxology not be sung, but have revised that belief; see Edition I.3.G and J.

[49] Pa 909 fols. 46r (*Christus apostolico*) and 46v (*Marcialis primus*); see Edition I.3.N-O.

[50] Pa 1119 fols. 60v-61r.

These small revisions indicate that the scribe was reading Adémar's autograph carefully and making changes to clarify (by shifting the position of the trope *Marcialis primus*) or complete (by supplying the cue to the Lesser Doxology) Adémar's version, even if the changes were not uniformly felicitous. He intended to create a correct and full record of the apostolic Mass that could be successfully performed. He therefore decided to adopt Adémar's apostolic liturgy out of respect and enthusiasm for it. His actions are consistent with the affection for Adémar expressed in the colophon in Lei 8° 15, and within a political environment at the abbey far different from the circumstances under which the main body of the proser Pa 1138/1338 was created.

It was perhaps this zeal for a full and correct record that caused the scribe of Pa 1119 to commit yet another eccentricity at the end of the apostolic Mass. After copying the first Offertory trope complex (*Marcialem dominus*), he then turned to the untroped Mass in Pa 909 and copied the full untroped Offertory (*Diligo*) and Communion (*Nolite gaudere*). Along the way, he omitted the trope that introduces the Offertory verses (*Ordine apostolico*), the concluding Offertory trope complex (*Hic est Marcialis*) and the Communion trope (*Agnus ait*).[51] As in the case of the opening Introit trope *Plebs deuota*, he created a version of the Offertory that is literally incomprehensible. Two full statements of the Offertory's refrain succeed each other, one troped, one untroped, before the verses and the repetendum of the refrain. One of the first two statements of the refrain, therefore, is redundant. The Communion remains liturgically intact, missing only its trope.

In tropers, the scribes normally provide only the cues for the host chants. The principal reason for this procedure is that the tropers are books for the soloists, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, and they presumably knew the chorally rendered parts of the chant so well that they did not need to have them preserved in writing. Adémar's apostolic Mass poses a problem in this regard, because he composed the host chants of the Mass anew. The soloists who might be required to perform the tropes or lead the chorus in the host chants could not, therefore, know them from experience, as they would most of the other chant repertory. Moreover, Adémar's apostolic chants had not been performed between their ill-fated première and the production of Pa 1119 because of the backlash

[51] Offertory trope *Marcialem dominus*: Pa 1119 fol. 61r-v. Untroped Offertory and Communion: Pa 1119 fols. 61v-62v; Pa 909 fol. 71r-v. Troped Offertory and Communion: Pa 909 fol. 46r-v. See Edition I.3.P-R, and II.9.D-E.

against the apostolic liturgy. So, the singers who would use Pa 1119 could only know these chants from their written form in Pa 909.

Adémar had compromised in presenting these new chants in his autograph in Pa 909. He wrote out the Introit *Probauit* in full in the course of presenting the opening Introit trope *Plebs deuota* (fol. 42r-v). Then, perhaps in the interest of economy, or possibly because he had decided to provide the untroped host chants in full as part of the apostolic Office for Martial, he gave cues only for the Offertory and Communion in the troped Mass (fol. 46r-v). Finally, as mentioned above, the apostolic Office contains an untroped Mass for Martial, with the newly composed Proper chants all written in full (fols. 70v-72r). The scribe of Pa 1119 provided a different compromise in his version of the troped Mass, giving cues only for the Introit *Probauit* and the refrain of the Offertory *Diligo*, but then writing out both Offertory and Communion in full, as described above.

He clearly had no intention of copying out the untroped Mass, either separately or within the apostolic Office, as it appears in Pa 909. He was thus faced with the problem of how to present the host chants, which were certainly unknown to the prospective users of the codex. In the course of inscribing the troped Mass, he changed his mode of presentation, from giving the cues only to the Introit *Probauit* to writing out the Offertory and Communion in full. Although he preserved these two little-known pieces for those who wished to sing the apostolic Mass, he simultaneously jettisoned all the tropes that Adémar had composed for them, and so by solving one problem he created a new one. (*Marcialem dominus*, the opening Offertory trope retained in Pa 1119, predates Adémar's apostolic Mass; the other tropes in Pa 909, and missing from Pa 1119, were original compositions of Adémar's.) Hence, this version of the Offertory and Communion omits as much as it retains from Adémar's autograph.

The preservation of Adémar's troped apostolic Mass in Pa 1119, with its bold and unequivocal introductory rubric, signals a remarkable reversal in the abbey's official attitude towards him and the apostolic liturgy he devised. For the production of this elaborate book would have required the full participation of the abbey's cantor, if he was not, in fact, the person who instigated it or perhaps even copied it himself. The attempts at clarification and correction, including the eccentric presentation of the Offertory and Communion, show that the scribe was making every effort to create a usable version of the Mass, even if these attempts did not always succeed. So, the adoption of this Mass constitutes a clear endorsement of Martial's apostolic status through the adoption of Adémar's apostolic liturgy.

Table 7.3. *Prosae in Pa 1119 associated with the apostolic cult*

Incipit	Rubric	Fols.
Valde lumen	Prosa de Sancto Martiale Apostolo	189v-192r
Alme deus	Alia	192r-194r
Concelebremus	Alia	194r-195v
Alle sublime		195v-196v
Nobis annua	Prosa propria in Dedicatione Sancti Stephani	199v-202r
Obseruanda	In Dedicatione Ecclesie Sancti Petri	221r-222v
Alle boans luia	Sancte Valerie	229v-231r
Laudum da phalanx	Prosa de Sancto Martiale Apostolo	231r-234r
Arce polorum	Prosa Sancti Martialis	241v-243v

The proser of Pa 1119 also presents the case for the apostolicity but in a considerably more equivocal way. Table 7.3 lists the prosae in Pa 1119 associated with the apostolic cult. The principal series for Martial's feast (fols. 189v-196v) contains four of the oldest prosae for the saint. *Valde lumen*, *Alme deus*, *Concelebremus* and *Alle sublime* all occur in both Pa 1120 and 1138/1338, and their episcopal orientation is discussed above.[52] The scribe of Pa 1119 introduces them with a rubric that boldly identifies Martial as an apostle, but some of their texts retain the readings that place Martial securely in the rank of bishop. *Alme deus* and *Concelebremus* preserve the episcopal versions of their respective texts. *Alle sublime* substitutes in stanza 6a the non-committal "pastor" for "presul" in Pa 1120, a substitution that hardly constitutes a promotion of Martial to the rank of apostle.[53]

The text of *Valde lumen* in Pa 1119 reveals a more complex treatment of the designations of ecclesiastical rank for Martial, as Table 7.4 shows. In three places, as noted above, Pa 1138 gives a form of *presul*, which is probably also the original reading of Pa 1120 in these passages. (Adémar twice, in stanzas 8b and 9a, erased words in Pa 1120, as mentioned in Chapter 3 above, and replaced them; see Table 7.4.) In the first of these, stanza 8b, Pa 1119 retains the reading of Pa 1138 (and possibly, therefore, the original reading of Pa 1120). The second passage, stanza 9a, conforms to Adémar's revision in Pa 1120, in contrast with his own reading in Pa

[52] *Valde lumen*, *Concelebremus* and *Alle sublime* in Pa 1120: see n. 20 above. *Alme deus*: Pa 1120 fols. 127v-128v.

[53] Texts of *Alme deus* and *Concelebremus*: see nn. 34 and 23, respectively, above. Text of *Alle sublime*: *AH* 7: no. 162 pp. 179–80.

Table 7.4. *Designations of Martial's ecclesiastical rank in Valde lumen*

Stanza	Pa 1120	Pa 909	Pa 1138	Pa 1119	Pa 1137
8b	patroni *in ras. man. Ademari*	patrono	presuli	presuli	pastori
9a	pastor *in ras. man. Ademari*	doctor	presul	pastor	presul
10b	presul	pastor	presul	pastor	pastor

909 and what is presumably the original reading, preserved in Pa 1138. Finally, the scribe of Pa 1119 follows Adémar's autograph in stanza 10b, in disagreement with both Pa 1120 and 1138.

Nowhere in any of these four texts does the noun *apostolus* occur in direct connection with Martial. The prosae fall well short, thus, of substantiating the claim for apostolic status enunciated in the rubric. I would propose two possible reasons for this reticence. First, in the absence of a complete proser in Pa 909, Adémar entered four prosae for Martial, *Valde lumen*, *Alme deus* and his own compositions, *Arce polorum* and *Apostolorum gloriosa*. Therefore, no apostolic version existed for the host of other prosae in circulation for his feast, including *Concelebremus* and *Alle sublime*. Moreover, *Alme deus* received only a slight modification at the hands of Adémar when he incorporated it into his apostolic liturgy.[54]

Second, as discussed in Chapter 3 above, because of the predominantly syllabic nature of the genre, revisions to the text of a prosa must attempt to match the syllable count of the original and revised readings to a much greater degree than is the case in more florid chants. Replacing a bisyllabic or trisyllabic form of *presul* with a form of the four-syllable *apostolus* compromises the spare style of the prosa. So, the scribe of Pa 1119, working largely without apostolic models and faced with the necessity of retaining the syllable count of the original reading in any revision he might essay, simply copied what was before him for the most part. And it would seem, as noted by Husmann, that the manuscript before him for most of the proser was Pa 1120, whence the prevailing episcopal attitude of the prosae in Pa 1119.[55]

A far different approach, however, emerges from the other prosae in Pa 1119 that are connected with Martial's cult. Two pieces concern dedication

[54] In stanza 10a, Pa 909 reads "idem patriarcha" where the episcopal version has "uerendus pontifex." See Edition III.1.B.

[55] See n. 43 above.

feasts for churches in Limoges, *Nobis annua* for the cathedral of Saint Stephen, and *Obseruanda*, here restored to the dedication of the abbatial basilica of Saint Peter at Saint Martial. The former, of course, was composed by Adémar and added to Pa 909 as an inducement, I believe, to convince Bishop Jordan of the virtue of endorsing Martial's apostolicity.[56] And, in stanza 2b, it names Martial an apostle.[57] Here too the scribe of Pa 1119 may simply have copied the only text available to him, the apostolic version in Pa 909, in the absence of an episcopal version of *Nobis annua*.

The evidence of *Obseruanda*, however, suggests that our scribe did harbour considerable enthusiasm for the apostolic cult. For he has altered the reading in stanza 2b mentioned above, "pontifex maximus," to the unequivocal "dei apostolus." (A later hand has added the original reading above the apostolic revision.) These two chants, then, begin to bring the proser into line with the apostolic posture of the troper, and reveal some initiative on the part of the scribe to revise existing episcopal items to participate in the apostolic campaign. The revision in *Obseruanda* is facilitated, of course, by the fact that the scribe had six syllables in the original phrase, which enabled him to incorporate the key noun *apostolus*.

The apostolic orientation of *Nobis annua* and *Obseruanda* finds reinforcement in the prosa *Alle boans luia*, for the feast of Valérie. This piece shares its melody with *Alma cohors*, as noted above. The scribe of Pa 1119 has again revised the text, this time replacing the phrase "presulis saluifica" in stanza 6a, referring to Martial, with "monita apostoli," here too capitalizing on the larger number of syllables in the phrase to use the quadrasyllablic *apostolus*.[58] Finally, in an addendum to the main corpus of prosae, the principal scribe has entered *Laudum da falanx*, which only occurs elsewhere in Pa 1138/1338 as discussed above. Its text also bears the signs of apostolic revision, particularly in stanza 3a, where the reading of Pa 1138/1338, "presulis," is replaced with "apostoli." (He also revises "presule" in stanza 8a to "primate," more to remove an episcopal reference than to strengthen the apostolic orientation of the piece.)

[56] Grier, "*Scriptio interrupta*," pp. 247–48; see also Edition III.2.A. It was eventually erased in Pa 909 except for the opening at the bottom of fol. 77v. And so, the version in Pa 1119 is the only complete, surviving copy. Another fragment occurs in the newer, incomplete proser at the end of Pa 1121 (fol. 240r).

[57] Text: *AH* 7: no. 202 pp. 222–23.

[58] Text: see n. 26 above. Pa 887 fols. 113r-114r gives the reading "presulis saluifica" in stanza 6a (fol. 113v).

So, in three prosae that exist in episcopal versions, *Obseruanda*, *Alle boans luia* and *Laudum da falanx*, the scribe of Pa 1119 modified the text to promote Martial's apostolicity. Why did he adjust these and not the prosae specifically assigned to Martial's feast? The answer may be as mundane as the syllable count. He openly endorsed the apostolic cult as his reproduction of the troped apostolic Mass and the unequivocal rubrics for both the Mass and Martial's feast in the proser attest. He clearly did not fear the kind of censure that seems to have befallen the scribe of Pa 5240, as discussed above. As he worked his way through the proser, he seems to have become more comfortable with the idea of revising the texts, perhaps inspired by the model of *Nobis annua*, composed by Adémar and overtly apostolic in its diction. When he came to *Obseruanda* and *Alle boans luia*, he undertook to render their texts equally supportive of the apostolicity. He ended by including a copy of *Laudum da falanx* at the end of the proser, similarly modified.

Subsequently, a later hand added a copy of Adémar's *Arce polorum*, in much the same way as the prosa was added to Pa 1338, noted above. In many ways, the addition of this piece brings the liturgical orientation of Pa 1119 towards Martial full circle. It begins with Adémar's troped Mass for the saint, of which the scribe attempted to produce a full and usable copy. The feast of Martial in the proser begins forcefully enough, with an intrepid rubric, but it falters in the absence of a full corpus of apostolic prosae in Pa 909 to serve as models for Pa 1119. Prosae for two dedication feasts, however, provide the prototype and the opportunity, respectively, for the successful incorporation of apostolic diction. Emboldened by these results, he applied the same strategy to *Laudum da falanx* before another scribe returned to Adémar's liturgy for the apostolic prosa *Arce polorum*. The inclusion of all these materials marks an endorsement not only of Martial's apostolic status but also Adémar's advocacy for it. During the lifetime of Bishop Jordan, who lost significant credibility through his acceptance of Adémar's scheme, it would have been impossible to promote any aspect of the apostolicity in such an overt manner.

PA 1137 AND 1132: THE CLUNIAC ADOPTION OF THE APOSTOLICITY

Among the many eleventh-century music manuscripts from Saint Martial, one group has escaped detailed study, Pa 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136 and 1137. Opinions vary on their date, but most cluster around the second half of the century, and that date is confirmed by the general use in these codices

of the single-line staff.[59] They share similarities in structure and content that strongly encourage me to treat them as a group. Like their predecessors Pa 1120, 1121, 909 and 1119, their contents are organized in libelli devoted to individual genres. Solo repertories predominate, including tropes for the Ordinary of the Mass, sequences, texted and untexted, and the Proper chants, Graduals, Alleluias and Offertories. In some cases, particularly the Proper chants of the Mass, the choral portions of the refrains are also given in full. The single most notable omission from the contents of this group in comparison with the earlier manuscripts from Saint Martial, is the repertory of Proper tropes, of which not a trace is to be found.

Why would the abbey need five books extraordinarily similar in their content, all devoted to solo repertories? Had they focused on choral repertories, they might have been useful as multiple copies for the chorus, although one might wonder how many of the choral singers would have been able to read music. Moreover, as books for soloists they create a certain amount of redundancy, as most of the pieces in them are already to be found in manuscripts readily available at the abbey, including the older books mentioned in the previous paragraph. Their uniformity suggests to me they may have arisen from the same impulse, which I would place early in the Cluniac possession of Saint Martial beginning with its purchase in 1062 and forcible occupation the following year.[60]

The newly arrived Cluniac administrators would have observed that the abbey possessed several skilled music scribes. One way to capitalize on that resource was to have them produce a series of nearly identical books for distribution to some of the abbey's daughter houses. By the end of the eleventh century, these numbered over fifty, making Saint Martial a valuable prize for the Cluniacs, who remained eager to increase their possessions.[61] Furthermore, the Cluniacs met with opposition when they

[59] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:210–29 (Pa 1137), 270–316 (Pa 1133, 1134, 1135 and 1136), 2:152 (Pa 1137), 157–58 (Pa 1133, 1134, 1135 and 1136); Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 184–87; *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 105–9; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 131–36.

[60] See Grier, "Roger de Chabannes," pp. 107–8. Dumas, "Le processional," p. 15, suggests a Cluniac orientation for Pa 1136.

[61] For the number of Saint Martial's dependencies, see the Bull of Pope Urban II, dated 1096, printed in C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pièce justificative 9, pp. 431–33; see also *ibid.*, p. 90; Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration*, p. 20; Becquet, "Le bullaire du Limousin," no. 23 pp. 121–22; and Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, pp. 104–13, 261–71. On the dependencies in general, see C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pp. 351–407; and Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, pp. 79–117. On Cluny's acquisition of dependencies, see Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*; Chagny, *Cluny et son empire*; Cousin, "L'expansion clunisienne"; Mager, "Studien über das Verhältnis der Cluniacenser zum Eigenkirchenwesen"; Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh*, pp. 124–94; Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 67–118, 191–252; Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien*, 2: *L'ordre de Cluny*, 45–114, 167–271; the papers published in *Cluny in Lombardia*, and Violante *et al.*,

Table 7.5. *Sequences in Pa 1137 associated with the apostolic cult*

Incipit	Rubric	Fols.
Sequentiae:		
Valde lumen		46v-47r
Concelebremus		47r
Adest nempe		47r-v
Alme deus		47v
Arce polorum		47v-48r
Alle sublime		48r
Alle boans		48r-v
Prosae:		
Valde lumen	De Sancto Marciale	81r-82v
Concelebremus	Alia	82v-83v
Alme deus	Item Alia	83v-84v
Arce polorum	Item Alia	84v-86v
Alle sublime		86v-87v
Adest nempe		87v-89r
Obseruanda	In Dedicatione Ecclesie	104r-105v
Alle boans	De Sancta Valeria	108r-109r
Psallat iocunda		166v-167v
Laude pia	Item Alia	167v

attempted to assume control at Saint Martial, and they eventually required the violent support of the city's viscount, from whom they had purchased the abbey.[62] Under these circumstances, one might expect some of Saint Martial's daughter houses to feel anxious at the prospect of Cluniac hegemony at the mother house. Perhaps the gift of a small music book from Saint Martial's scriptorium might assure the dependencies of the benevolence of Cluny's rule.

To whatever degree the foregoing reconstruction must remain hypothetical, we still have the five nearly identical books, and they make a strange group within the eleventh-century output of the scriptorium. One book, however, stands out from the rest because of its apostolic content, and that is Pa 1137. The traces of the apostolic liturgy occur for the most part in the proser, the details of which appear in Table 7.5, along with the

eds., *L'Italia nel quadro dell'espansione europea*; Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*; Racinet, "L'expansion de Cluny"; Wollasch, *Cluny – "Licht der Welt"*, pp. 141–97; Poeck, *Cluniacensis ecclesia*; and Méhu, *Paix et communautés*.

[62] See the note printed at Champeval, ed., "Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges," no. 15 pp. 322–24; and C. de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye*, pièce justificative 7, pp. 427–29. For commentary, see *ibid.*, pp. 83–86; and Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars*, pp. 46–78.

pertinent parts of the sequentiary. The principal evidence for the apostolic cult is the presence of Adémar's sequence *Arce polorum* in both sequentiary (fols. 47v-48r) and proser (fols. 84v-86v). This is the only manuscript aside from Adémar's autograph Pa 909 to include either form of the piece in the first hand.

The sequentiary clarifies issues that arise in the proser. The series of sequentiae, placed between those for Saints Peter and Paul and those for the Virgin, groups together all the items associated with Martial's cult, even if their assignment in the proser differs. As I detail below, *Alle sublime*, though placed with the other prosae for Martial, contains language that links it with Martial's companion Austriclinian, and *Alle boans* is explicitly assigned to Valérie in the proser. The placement of these two pieces in the sequentiary establishes their close connection with Martial's cult, even if they were to be sung on the feast of another saint. The treatment of *Adest nempe* is even more remarkable. Again, the texted version in the proser names Saint Martin, yet its position in the sequentiary, between *Concelebremus* and *Alme deus*, both unequivocally dedicated to Martial, suggests that the scribe assigned it too to Martial.

The group of prosae for Martial's feast, introduced by the nondescript rubric "DE SANCTO MARCIALE," consists of four familiar prosae, *Valde lumen*, *Concelebremus*, *Alme deus* and *Arce polorum* (fols. 81r-86v). Like Pa 1119, Pa 1137 vacillates somewhat in endorsing the apostolic cult. *Valde lumen* contains yet another combination of readings at the key points where Martial's ecclesiastical rank is mentioned (see Table 7.4 above), and *Concelebremus* is not altered, just as was the case in Pa 1119. The scribe gains in confidence, however, as he progresses: first, he modifies the reading "uerendus pontifex" in stanza 10a of *Alme deus* to "uerendus apostolus," adding a note to the melody to accommodate the extra syllable; then, he copies Adémar's apostolic prosa *Arce polorum*, in the first hand and within the main group of prosae for the saint's feast, unlike Pa 1338 and 1119. After an unsure beginning, then, Pa 1137 moves to an emphatic endorsement of the apostolic cult.

The series of prosae extends for two more pieces, however, that do not seem directly related to Martial's feast: *Alle sublime* and *Adest nempe*. The former is commonly assigned to Martial, in Pa 1120, 1138 and 1119, for example (see above). *Adest nempe*, however, occurs on the saint's feast in Pa 1120 only (fols. 129r-130v).[63] Neither is here furnished with a rubric,

[63] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:8.

but each contains references in its text that associate it with another saint. In stanza 2a of *Alle sublime*, the name "Marciali" is replaced with "Austriclinianum," and this substitution makes the reference in stanza 6a to a "presul" appropriate, since Austriclinian, Martial's companion, held that rank.[64] If this change indeed renders this prosa suitable for the feast of Austriclinian, it therefore occurs out of place in the proser of Pa 1137, since his feast falls on 15 October. The status of this piece is further confused by the fact that Adémar assigns its untexted form to Alpinian, Martial's other companion, in the sequentiary of Pa 909.[65]

Adest nempe is usually classified as a dominical sequence.[66] Like *Laudum da falanx*, this prosa speaks of its subject as one who deserves the distinction of being an apostle (stanza 10a), despite being a bishop in rank (stanza 13b).[67] The version in Pa 1137, however, makes a clear reference to Saint Martin (stanza 14a). In fact, the scribe may have intended that it be sung on the feast of his translation, which falls on 4 July, between the feasts of Martial (30 June) and the translation of Saint Benedict (11 July) that surround it.[68] Nevertheless, these two prosae at the end of the principal series for the feast of Martial do not materially supplement the apostolic dossier of this manuscript, with the exception that Austriclinian's status as bishop indirectly confirms Martial's apostolicity.

As in Pa 1119, references to Martial's cult recur in other prosae not assigned to his feast. *Obseruanda*, the prosa for the Dedication, uses the original episcopal reading "pontifex maximus" in stanza 2b, rather than the apostolic innovation introduced in Pa 1119, "dei apostolus."[69] The piece for Valérie, however, *Alle boans*, employs yet another apostolic reading in stanza 6a, "apostoli saluifica," in place of the episcopal "presulis saluifica," and the alternative apostolic reading of Pa 1119, "monita apostoli."[70] Finally, a later hand added two further prosae at the end of the codex, *Psallat iocunda* and *Laude pia*, the latter of which breaks off at the bottom of fol. 167v, and therefore remains incomplete. Both pieces are primarily biographical in nature without specifically mentioning Martial's apostolocity.[71]

Codex Pa 1137, therefore, maintains an unmistakably apostolic posture, although in a much less overt style than Pa 1119. This posture distinguishes

[64] Text: see n. 22 above. [65] Pa 909 fol. 121v; see Edition IXA.21.A.
[66] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 2:8. [67] Text: *AH* 7: no. 229 pp. 251–52.
[68] Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:221–22.
[69] Text: see n. 21 above. [70] Text: see n. 26 above.
[71] Text of *Psallat iocunda*: *AH* 7: no. 165 pp. 182–83; *Laude pia*: *AH* 8: no. 233 p. 178.

it from the other manuscripts in its group, Pa 1133, 1134, 1135 and 1136, none of which offers any open support for the apostolic cult. The position of Pa 1137 is consistent, I believe, with the attitude towards the apostolic question evinced elsewhere by the new Cluniac administrators at Saint Martial. They seem to have felt that the apostolic cult would occasion no scandal, and so they were reluctant to suppress it altogether because of the obvious advantages it offered for the stature of the abbey. Nevertheless, the Cluniacs seemed to be equally reluctant to give the idea much active support. In this regard, the posture of Pa 1132, the earliest extant gradual from Saint Martial, provides useful testimony.

Long recognized as an early product of the Cluniac administration at Saint Martial, produced probably before AD 1100, Pa 1132 shows us how cautiously the Cluniacs approached the apostolic controversy.[72] The main series in the appended proser contains only one item for Martial, the familiar *Valde lumen* (fols. 121v-122v), unadorned of any rubric. At the three crucial readings identified in the discussion above (see Table 7.4), Pa 1132 gives a non-committal form of *pastor* each time. Among the additions to the proser in a second hand stands one further item for Martial, the prosa *Omnis mundus laetabundus* (fols. 137v-138v), introduced by the rubric "SANCTI MARCIALIS." Its text, like those of the prosae added to Pa 1137, *Psallat iocunda* and *Laude pia*, is principally biographical, although it unequivocally names Martial as an apostle twice (stanzas 1b and 14a).[73]

More overt, although not necessarily stronger, evidence occurs in the gradual itself, which contains no fewer than three Masses for the saint (see Table 7.6). The rubrics for the principal Mass (fol. 84r) and the Translation (fol. 93r) leave no room for doubt, but the selection of chants hardly constitutes a ringing endorsement of the uniqueness and importance of Martial's apostolicity for the abbey. In particular, I note the use of the Introit *Gaudeamus omnes* in both these Masses, which most commonly occurs on the feasts of Virgins, the feast of Saint Agatha, for example, in Pa 1132 (see Table 7.6). The Communion, *Ego uos elegi*, also found in both the principal and Translation Masses, lacks an association with saints of apostolic rank. Its complete text does not seem to occur in Pa 1132, although it is cued on two other feasts, for the martyr Timothy (fol. 89v) and for the bishops Anianus and

[72] Herzo, "Five Aquitanian Graduals," pp. 60–73. See also Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses," 1:317–26; Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 184; and *idem*, *L'école*, pp. 103–5.
[73] Text: *AH* 8: no. 231 pp. 176–77.

Table 7.6. *Masses for Saint Martial in Pa 1132*

Genre	Incipit	AMS	Full version in Pa 1132
SANCTI MARCIALIS APOSTOLI fol. 84r			
Introit	Gaudeamus omnes	30	fol. 25r, Agatha
Epistle	Benedictio domini		
Gradual	Constitues eos ℣ Pro patribus	122, 169	fol. 83r, Peter and Paul
Alleluia	℣ Non uos me elegistis		fol. 89v, Bartholomew
Prosa	Valde lumen		
Gospel	Designauit dominus Ihesus		
Offertory	Constitues eos	122	fol. 83v, Peter and Paul
Communion	Ego uos elegi	113, 115, 133, 143	not given
DOMINICA INFRA OCTABAS fol. 84r			
Introit	Michi autem	160, 169	fol. 7r, Thomas
Epistle	Vnicuique		
Gospel	Misit dominus Ihesus xii		
IN TRANSLATIONE SANCTI MARCIALIS APOSTOLI fol. 93r			
Introit	Gaudeamus omnes		
Gradual	Constitues eos		
Epistle	Benediccio domini		
Alleluia	℣ In omnem terram	96	fol. 85r-v, James
Gospel	Haec mando		
Offertory	In omnem terram	160	fol. 7r, Thomas
Communion	Ego uos elegi		

Gregory (fol. 94v). The Gradual, Alleluia and Offertory in both the principal and Translation Masses for Martial, however, all carry clear associations with other apostles, and the Gradual and Alleluia of the principal Mass, of course, are those specified by Adémar for inclusion in his troped Mass.[74]

The liturgical orientation of the Mass on the Sunday within the Octave of Martial (fol. 84r) is unequivocal, although there remains ambiguity as to which specific chants are required. The scribe clearly indicates that a Mass for an apostle is to be sung, beginning with the standard Introit, *Mihi autem*, but does not specify the Gradual, Alleluia, Offertory or Communion. Table 7.7 shows that Pa 1132 allows for some latitude of choice in Masses beginning with this Introit. No fewer than seven other Masses in Pa 1132, all for saints of the rank of apostle, include the Introit *Mihi autem*. The Gradual and Offertory found most often in these

[74] Edition I.3.L and M.

Table 7.7. *Masses for apostles in Pa 1132 that begin with the Introit Mihi autem*

		Thomas fol. 7r-v	Matthew fol. 27r	Barnabas fol. 79r
Introit		Michi autem	Michi autem	Michi autem
Gradual		Nimis honorati ℣Dinumerabo eos	Nimis honorati	Nimis honorati
Alleluia or Tract		℣ Michi autem	*Tr.* Desiderium	℣ Ego uos elegi
Offertory		In omnem terram	In omnem terram	In omnem terram
Communion		Vos qui secuti	Vos qui secuti	Vos qui secuti
	James fol. 85r-v	Bartholomew fols. 89v-90r	Simon and Jude fol. 93v	Andrew fol. 95v
In.	Michi autem	Michi autem	Michi autem	Michi autem
Gr.	Nimis honorati	Constitues eos ℣ Pro patribus	In omnem terram	Constitues eos
All.	℣ In omnem terram	℣ Non uos me elegistis	℣ Stabunt iusti	℣ Dilexit Andream
Off.	In omnem terram	Michi autem	Constitues eos	Michi autem
Com.	Amen dico	Vos qui secuti	Vos qui secuti	Dicit Andreas

Masses are, respectively, *Nimis honorati* ℣ *Dinumerabo eos* and *In omnem terram*. I would suggest that these are the chants most likely to be understood by the scribe and users of Pa 1132 as those required for the Mass for Martial on the Sunday within the Octave. Other possibilities include, for the Gradual, *Constitues eos* ℣ *Pro patribus* and *In omnem terram*; for the Offertory, *Mihi autem* and *Constitues eos*. The Communion would almost certainly be *Vos qui secuti*, although *Amen dico* remains a possibility. *Dicit Andreas* cannot be used because it is Proper to Saint Andrew.

The Alleluia offers still more choices. This Mass cannot use the Tract *Desiderium* because it does not fall in a penitential season, or *Alleluia* ℣ *Dilexit Andream* because of its association with Saint Andrew. It is less likely to include *Alleluia* ℣ *In omnem terram* or ℣ *Non uos me elegistis* because they are already specified for the principal Mass and that for the Translation. That leaves *Alleluia* ℣ *Mihi autem*, ℣ *Ego uos elegi* or ℣ *Stabunt iusti*. I harbour a suspicion that the users of Pa 1132 might have chosen *Alleuia* ℣ *Ego uos elegi* for this Mass. It might help justify the choice of this text, which, as noted above, lacks associations with saints of the rank of apostle, for the Communion in both the main Mass and that for the Translation. In any case, the scribe of Pa 1132, by indicating a Mass beginning with the Introit *Mihi autem*, has left a range of possibilities open for the choice of the remaining Proper chants of the Mass, while unequivocally specifying that it is a Mass for an apostle.

Codex Pa 1132 clearly endorses the apostolic status of Martial, but without providing a distinctive liturgy for his feasts. Most outstanding, in comparison with the acknowledgement of Adémar's apostolic liturgy in the pre-Cluniac Pa 1119, is the complete neglect of his liturgy in Pa 1132, particularly his newly composed Proper chants as given in the untroped apostolic Mass.[75] Adémar's Introit (*Probauit*), Offertory (*Diligo*) and Communion (*Nolite gaudere*) may have carried associations with their accompanying tropes that the Cluniacs found unappealing; they seem to have been ill disposed towards Proper tropes in general and may have suppressed these chants in order to eliminate the connection with the tropes. Nevertheless, the complete effacement of his Mass liturgy, tropes, Proper chants and prosae, conveys a very strong message. The Cluniacs accepted Martial's apostolicity, perhaps reluctantly, but they

[75] Pa 909 fols. 70v-72r; Edition II.9.

tolerated no association with Adémar and the controversy of his apostolic liturgy.

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Adémar succeeded in the end, to a much greater extent than even he would have believed possible. Martial was venerated as an apostle in Limoges and elsewhere until the end of the nineteenth century. After a good deal of vacillation during the balance of Odolric's abbacy and immediately after, while Bishop Jordan still lived, the monks of Saint Martial, upon Jordan's death in 1051, unequivocally endorsed Martial's apostolicity, Adémar's apostolic liturgy, and even Adémar himself. I believe that the personal regard in which the monks held Adémar contributed significantly to the resurrection of his troped apostolic Mass in Pa 1119. The fact that the Cluniacs completely suppressed his liturgy while accepting Martial's apostolicity indicates that he and his liturgy remained too controversial for the abbey's new masters in their quest to achieve an apparently uneventful promulgation of Martial the apostle.

Adémar, nevertheless, left behind a singularly important musical legacy, created in his zeal to establish Martial's apostolic status. That his music remained largely silent for nearly a thousand years illuminates the charged environment in which and for which he created it. That lengthy silence was not without cost to Adémar's reputation as a musician. For example, his original compositions appear to have had no effect on the practice of musical composition in Limoges or at Saint Martial, despite his considerable achievement in this field. Unsung pieces cannot influence younger composers, and so, through neglect, the soaring melismata of the processional *Ave pastor optime* or the carefully constructed arches of the Gradual *Principes populorum* failed to leave their mark on subsequent generations of monastic musicians at Saint Martial.

Adémar's professional activities as a music scribe did, however, have a profound impact on the use of musical notation and the importance of musical literacy in the musical community at Saint Martial. His innovative use of accurate heighting to present relative pitch information radically transformed the Aquitanian notation he inherited from the generation of his uncle, Roger de Chabannes. In conjunction with other features, such as his idiosyncratic use of the *oriscus*, along with the *custos* and a range of *litterae significatiuae*, the imposition of accurate heighting vastly increased the amount of musical information transmitted visually by Aquitanian notation. While Adémar's notation was not fully literate, that is, it cannot be read by someone who does not already know the

melody, it made significant steps towards full musical literacy, steps from which Aquitanian notation never retreated.

What is perhaps most poignant for us is the fact that Adémar chose the liturgy, and particularly the musical items of the liturgy, as his principal weapon in the campaign to have Martial recognized as an apostle. He knew intimately the power of the liturgy, with its spectacle and the support of sacred relics, to manipulate public opinion. He saw it work during the public acknowledgement of the manifestly false relics of John the Baptist at Angély and at the impressive and inspiring dedication of the new abbatial basilica at Saint Martial in November 1028. Then, the opportunity to ingratiate himself to the monks at Saint Martial appeared, along with the possibility of escaping an unsatisfying life at Saint Cybard in Angoulême, by promoting the apostolicity of Martial and winning acceptance for it. And so, he turned to that most powerful tool to achieve his worldly ends, to make true what he and everyone else in Limoges knew to be untrue. He eventually succeeded beyond even his expectations, but not without significant personal and professional cost.

Adémar de Chabannes was a magnificently talented failure in his own lifetime. He failed to achieve the only significant distinction he sought for himself, namely the office of abbot at his home monastery of Saint Cybard in Angoulême. In the wake of that failure, he threw himself into the professional work of music scribe while at the refuge of Saint Martial in Limoges, home of his ancestors and site of his advanced education under his paternal uncle Roger de Chabannes. During his second tenure there, in the second half of 1028 and early 1029, he conceived a monstrous plan that might permit him to stay in Limoges and work quietly in the abbey's scriptorium with the benefit of its wonderful library. The plan failed, and Adémar was forced to return to Saint Cybard in disgrace and bitter defeat. But the liturgy he left behind eventually became the rallying point for those younger monks at Saint Martial who supported the apostolicity. They revived his liturgy and with it, they were able to win adequate support for the idea so that even the Cluniac reformers could not resist it, although they suppressed any direct connection between the apostolicity and Adémar himself.

Now that the full range of Adémar's musical activities has been identified and appraised, we can appreciate how comprehensive they were, how splendidly talented as a musician he was, particularly, in my opinion, as a composer. He exerted those talents to create a magnificent fraud that eventually succeeded, but whose fraudulent aspects were such that he could not receive credit for engineering it. The price he had to pay was an enduring silence for his music, which, happily, we can now break.

Appendix A
Manuscripts with Adémar's music hand

MANUSCRIPTS IN WHICH THE MUSIC ONLY IS IN ADÉMAR'S HAND

Folios	Inventory	Remarks
Pa 1121:		
2–41	Proper tropes	1. Fol. 1r left blank for outside cover; fol. 1v left blank for decoration. 2. Incomplete at end; fol. 41v ends with rubric for Saint Andrew.
42–57	Ordinary tropes	1. Incomplete at beginning; starts with Gloria tropes. 2. Incomplete at end; breaks off in middle of Gloria trope.
73–89	Tracts	1. Complete for the liturgical year. 2. Ends with series of Benedictions.
90–137	Offertories	Complete for liturgical year; fol. 137v blank.
138–179	Processinal antiphons, litanies, Invitatories, Lamentation of Jeremiah, antiphons	1. Litanies occur in midst of processional antiphons, fols. 161v-165r. 2. Processional antiphons end with explicit on fol. 174r. 3. Antiphons continue on fol. 218r.
218–231	Antiphons, Office of the Trinity, antiphons ad ungendum infirmum, antiphons for three boys cast into the fire	1. Continues directly from fol. 179v. 2. Fols. 226–231 originally regular quaternio, now missing outside bifolium; most of second nocturn of Trinity Office missing between fols. 225v and 226r. 3. Complete on fol. 231v; last three lines blank.

Folios	Inventory	Remarks
187–195	Antiphons for gospel chants on the Sundays after Pentecost	Ends with a rubric for Vespers; therefore incomplete.
196–209	Proser and tonary	1. Begins in middle of proser; therefore incomplete. 2. Fols. 207–209 originally left blank; later filled with an addition that continues on fol. 210r.
210–217 180–186	Alleluias	1. Fols. 210–217 contain the first gathering of Alleluias, followed by fols. 180–186. 2. Fol. 210r erased for later addition continued from fols. 207–209. 3. Fol. 186v ends with dominical Alleluias and is therefore incomplete.
Pa 909:		
9–40 49–59r	Proper tropes	1. Signature A-[G]. 2. Original gathering E lost, replaced by fols. 41–48, which are now misbound after gathering F. 3. Gathering G not signed. 4. First text hand breaks off on fol. 59r with the libellus incomplete.
86–109	Ordinary tropes	1. Signatures I-L. 2. Gathering H lost; therefore libellus is incomplete.
190–197 174–189	Alleluias	1. Signatures M-O. 2. Gathering M misbound after gathering O.
166–173	Alleluias, antiphons for Easter	Continues from fol. 189v and completes Alleluias for liturgical year.
142–149	Miscellaneous items for Easter	1. Continues from fol. 173v. 2. Easter items appear to be complete on fol. 149v.
158–165	Processional antiphons	1. Gatherings are reversed in order. 2. Fol. 157v ends with unnoted incipit.
246–269	Processional antiphons, tonary, antiphons, antiphons for gospel chants on the Sundays after Pentecost, antiphons with alleluias	1. Continues from fol. 157v. 2. Tonary fols. 251r-257v 3. Antiphons with gospel chants fols. 260r-268v. 4. Antiphons with alleluias appear to be incomplete on fol. 269v.

Folios	Inventory	Remarks
126–141	Tracts, Benedictions, litanies, antiphons	1. Tracts complete for the liturgical year, ending on fol. 140r. 2. Fol. 141v ends with the incipits of two antiphons (*Inundauerunt* and *Non nos demergat*), which appear complete at fols. 154r-155v.

MANUSCRIPTS IN WHICH THE TEXT AND MUSIC ARE IN ADÉMAR'S HAND

Folios	Inventory	Remarks
Pa 1121:		
58–72	Sequentiae	1. First folio missing; fol. 58r begins with sequentiae for Second Sunday of Advent. 2. Rubric at bottom of fol. 72v for next piece; therefore libellus is incomplete.
Pa 909:		
41–48	Proper tropes	Replacement for original gathering E.
59r–61v	Proper tropes	Completion of libellus of Proper tropes.
61v–62r	Alleluias for Saint Martial	
62v–78v	Office and other liturgical items for Saint Martial	Fol. 78 added to complete prosa *Nobis annua*; later erased and overwritten by later hand.
79r–85v	Offices for Saints Valérie and Austriclinian	
110–125	Sequentiae	
198–205	Sequentiae, prosae, uersus	Follows fol. 125v directly and completes sequentiae for the liturgical year
177v–178r	Alleluias for Saint Martial	Above an erasure in the libellus of Alleluias.
251r	Processional antiphon for Saint Martial	Above an erasure in the second collection of processional antiphons.
251r–257v	Tonary	Additions and corrections by Adémar
Pa 1978:		
102–103	Offices for Saints Cybard and Martial	Fragment of a larger antiphoner.
Pa 1118:		
248r–v	Processional chants for Saint Martial	Original left unnoted by Adémar; notation added by a later scribe.

Appendix B
Adémar's original compositions

TEXT AND MUSIC

Tropes of the Proper of the Mass

Incipit	Autograph	Edition
Introit tropes (PROBAVIT):		
Ipse est Marcialis	Pa 909 fol. 42r-v	I.3.A
Hisraelis quem stirpe		
Culmine apostolico clarum		
Sanctus Marcialis	Pa 909 fols. 44v-45r	I.3.I
Fortis amore dei		
Spiritus ignifluus		
Clauigero caeli meritis		
Christi discipulus	Pa 909 fol. 45r	I.3.J
Emicat his unus		
Corpore quem iuuenem		
Gallia quem saluata		
Gloria tropes:		
Dextera maiestas	Pa 909 fol. 45v	I.3.K
Te laudamus rex gloriosissime		
Trope ad sequentia (Arce polorum):		
Christus apostolico	Pa 909 fol. 46r	I.3.N
Trope ad sequentia (Concelebremus):		
Marcialis primus	Pa 909 fol. 46v	I.3.O
Offertory tropes (DILIGO):		
Ordine apostolico	Pa 909 fol. 46v	I.3.P
Hic est Marcialis	Pa 909 fol. 46v	I.3.Q
Egregios inter proceres		
Regnabit mecum		
Communion tropes (NOLITE GAVDERE):		
Agnus ait	Pa 909 fol. 46v	I.3.R
Intrantesque domum		

Mass Propers

Incipit	Genre	Autograph	Edition
Probauit eum	Introit	Pa 909 fol. 42r-v Pa 909 fol. 70v	I.3.A-J II.9.A
Principes populorum ℣ Elegit dominus	Gradual	Pa 909 fols. 70v-71r	II.9.B
Alleluia ℣ Beati oculi	Alleluia	Pa 909 fol. 71r Pa 909 fol. 178r	II.9.C
Diligo uirginitatem ℣ Praeceptum a domino ℣ Designatus a domino	Offertory	Pa 909 fol. 71r-v	I.3.P-Q II.9.D
Nolite gaudere	Communion	Pa 909 fol. 71v	I.3.R II.9.E
Arce polorum	Prosa	Pa 909 fols. 198r-199v	III.1.C
Apostolorum gloriosa	Prosa	Pa 909 fols. 199v-201v	III.1.D

Office Propers

Incipit	Genre	Autograph	Edition
Saint Martial:			
Gloriosus est	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 68r	II.2.3.F
O sancte dei apostole (opening only)	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 68r	II.2.3.G
Benedicamus dei filio	Benedicamus substitute	Pa 909 fol. 69v	II.3.H
Orans erat	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 73r	II.10.F
Gloriosus apostolus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 73r	II.10.G
Cum oraret	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 73v	II.10.L
Ave pastor optime	Processional Responsory	Pa 909 fols. 73v-74v Pa 1118 fol. 248r	II.10.N
O saluatoris minister	Processional Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 74v Pa 909 fol. 251r Pa 1118 fol. 248v	II.10.O
Saint Valérie:			
Virginitatis auctorem	Invitatory	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.A
Beata Christi	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.A
Erat enim	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.B
Sollicita pro salute	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.D
Dux Stephanus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.E
Dum spernit	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.F

Incipit	Genre	Autograph	Edition
Praedicante beato Marciale	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.G
Haec Stephani	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.1.H
Karitatis munere	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.1.I
Fide et merito	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.1.J
Sponsa Christi	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.2.A
Sanctae Valeriae	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.2.B
Corpus uirginis	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.2.C
Innocens manibus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 79v	VI.2.2.D
Choris angelorum	Antiphon	Pa 909 fols. 79v-80r	VI.2.2.E
Dux Stephanus	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80r	VI.2.2.G
Spernens uirgo	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80r	VI.2.2.H
Sancta Valeria	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80r	VI.2.2.I
Beata uirgo	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 80v	VI.2.3.A
Audita est uox	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80v	VI.2.3.B
Cumque gladiator	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80v	VI.2.3.C
Postquam uirgo	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80v	VI.2.3.D
Sancta uirgo	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 80v	VI.2.3.E
Audita est	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 81r	VI.3.A
Beata es	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 81r	VI.3.B
Angelorum concentus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 81r	VI.3.C
Sancta dei martir	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 81r-v	VI.6.A
Saint Austriclinian:			
In primo namque	Antiphon	Pa 909 fols. 81v-82r	VII.1.1.B
Verbo autem	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 82r	VII.1.1.C
Tunc enim	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 82r	VII.1.1.D
Sacerdos Christi	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 82r	VII.1.1.E
Per eos autem	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 82r	VII.1.1.F
Post uictoriam	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 82r	VII.1.1.G
Cumque ab oriente	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 82v	VII.1.1.H
Cum uir apostolicus	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 82v	VII.1.1.I
Quanto amplius	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 82v	VII.1.1.J
Interea magna	Antiphon	Pa 909 fols. 82v-83r	VII.1.2.A
Ipsi enim pietatis	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 83r	VII.1.2.B
Cum illis autem	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 83r	VII.1.2.C
Idem sacer	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 83r	VII.1.2.D
Iussione principis	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 83r-v	VII.1.2.G
Austriclinianus uir clarissimus	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 83v	VII.1.2.H
Electus et magnus	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 83v	VII.1.2.I
Beato Austricliniano	Responsory	Pa 909 fols. 83v-84r	VII.1.2.J
Vir dei sanctus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 84r	VII.1.3.A
Migrante a seculo	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 84r	VII.1.3.B
Gemina lampada	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 84r-v	VII.1.3.C
Postquam beatissimus	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 84v	VII.1.3.D
Dilectio pacis	Responsory	Pa 909 fol. 84v	VII.1.3.E
Oportebat enim	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 85r	VII.2.B
Salutem gentibus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 85r	VII.2.C

Incipit	Genre	Autograph	Edition
Non absque sacramento	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 85r	VII.2.D
Praeclarus senior	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 85r	VII.2.E
Vir apostolicus	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 85r-v	VII.2.F
Coronam inmortalitatis	Antiphon	Pa 909 fol. 85v	VII.3.A
Saint Cybard:			
. . . Eparchius qui	Responsory	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.1.A
Die subsequenti	Antiphon	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.2.A
Et cum custos	Antiphon	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.2.B
Statimque diuina	Antiphon	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.2.F
Mortuo quodam	Responsory	Pa 1978 fol. 102r-v	VIII.2.G
Mirabilis dominus	Responsory	Pa 1978 fol. 102v	VIII.2.H
Cum quidam prius	Responsory	Pa 1978 fol. 102v	VIII.2.I
Beatus hic Eparchius	Responsory	Pa 1978 fol. 102v	VIII.2.J
Cumque cursum	Antiphon	Pa 1978 fol. 102v	VIII.3.A

Other

Incipit	Genre	Autograph	Edition
Magna uirum	Devotional poem	Pa 909 fols. 202r-205r	IV

TEXT ONLY

Incipit	Genre	Melody	Autograph	Edition
Ecce sanctum	Introit ℣	Introit tone	Pa 909 fol. 44r	I.3.G
Rex apostolorum	Regnum tuum Prosula	Sceptrum Gloria sanctorum	Pa 909 fol. 45v	I.3.K
Relicto namque	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 64r-v	II.2.1.J
Probauit eum	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 66v	II.2.2.J
Vt sedeat	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 67v	II.2.3.D
Continuo lux magna	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 67v	II.2.3.D
Beatus Marcialis	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 68r	II.2.3.E
Multa pro Christi	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 68r	II.2.3.F
Adnunciasti	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 909 fol. 68v	II.2.3.G

Incipit	Genre	Melody	Autograph	Edition
Marcialem apostolum	Tract	Deus deus meus	Pa 909 fols. 71v-72r	II.9.F
Cum oraret	Versus	Verse formula	Pa 909 fol. 73v	II.10.H
Pax frater	Versus	Verse formula	Pa 909 fol. 73v	II.10.I
Domine uidens	Versus	Verse formula	Pa 909 fol. 73v	II.10.J
Sanctissime pater	Versus	Verse formula	Pa 909 fol. 73v	II.10.K
Nobis annua	Prosa	Celsa polorum	Pa 909 fol. 77v	III.2.A
Cum oraret	Alleluia ℣	Alleluia ℣ Apparuerunt	Pa 909 fol. 62r	V.F
Hanc discipulus	Antiphon	Pretiosa sunt	Pa 909 fol. 79r	VI.2.1.C
Cum angelis	Antiphon	Gloriosus apparuisti	Pa 909 fol. 80r	VI.2.2.F VI.7.A
Angeli psallebant	Antiphon	Arguebat Herodem	Pa 909 fol. 81r	VI.3.E
Beatus igitur	Antiphon	Deus meus es tu	Pa 909 fol. 81v	VII.1.1.A
O admirandum	Antiphon	Mittite in dexteram	Pa 909 fol. 83r	VII.1.2.E
Sanctitate	Antiphon	Magnificatus est rex	Pa 909 fol. 83r	VII.1.2.F
Pater insignis	Antiphon	Caeleste beneficium	Pa 909 fol. 85r	VII.2.A
Sacro functus	Antiphon	Haec est uera	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.2.C
Virtus diuina	Antiphon	Erat quidam regulus	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.2.D
Quidam in extremitate	Antiphon	Cum respexisset	Pa 1978 fol. 102r	VIII.2.E
Virtus diuina	Responsory	Scindite corda uestra	Pa 1978 fol. 102v	VIII.3.B
Salutaribus ecclesiam	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103r	App. A.4.C
Elegit enim	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103r	App. A.5.B
Ante enim mundi	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103r	App. A.5.D
Vocauit eum	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103v	App. A.6.A
Dominum toti	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103v	App. A.6.B
Christi resurrectionis	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103v	App. A.7.C
Postquam docuerunt	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103v	App. A.9.B
Spiritus sancti gratia	Responsory ℣	Responsory tone	Pa 1978 fol. 103v	App. A.9.E

Sequentiae: Music Only

Incipit	Autograph	Edition
Alme Christe	Pa 909 fol. 111v, Pa 1121 fol. 58v	IXA.4.B
Arce polorum	Pa 909 fol. 118r	I.3.N IXA.17.A
Apostolorum gloriosa	Pa 909 fol. 118r-v	IXA.17.B
Mente pura	Pa 909 fol. 123r, Pa 1121 fol. 68r	IXA.24.D
Per secula	Pa 909 fol. 123r, Pa 1121 fol. 68r	IXA.24.F
Alte uox canat	Pa 909 fol. 123r, Pa 1121 fol. 68r	IXA.24.G
Corde deuoto	Pa 909 fol. 123v, Pa 1121 fol. 68v	IXA.25.C
Coaequalis	Pa 909 fol. 124r-v, Pa 1121 fol. 69r	IXA.25.G
Letatus sum [2]	Pa 1121 fol. 70r	IXB.2.A
Hodierna	Pa 1121 fol. 70v	IXB.5.A

Possible Lost Compositions

Incipit	Genre	Rubric Pa 1121	Melody	Possible location
Marcialis clara	prosa text	fol. 65r	Alma cohors	Proser Pa 1121
Christo cantica	prosa or prosa text	fol. 72v	incipit from *Alleluia* ℣ *Sancte confessor* or melody *Organicis* or *Da camena* / *Praefulgida*	Sequentiary Pa 1121 Proser Pa 1121

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